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## ORGANIZING GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF<sup>1</sup>

CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF  
STATE RELIEF IN ILLINOIS

EARLY indications of an approaching avalanche of unemployment and dependency in Illinois were quite apparent during 1930. Between April, 1930, and January, 1931, according to the federal censuses of those dates, the number of unemployed in Chicago alone increased from 167,934 to 450,244, or 168 per cent; and the number of unemployed in the entire state of Illinois in the latter month was slightly in excess of 700,000.

The great majority of those affected by unemployment were able to subsist on savings and borrowed funds or by the help of relatives and friends during a considerable period of time, so that the demand for relief did not increase concurrently with the amount of unemployment. The winter of 1930, however, brought a marked increase in relief demands, largely concentrated in Chicago. The major family relief agencies of Chicago, in December, 1930, were serving 40,700 families as compared with 12,300 families in December, 1929, an increase of 231 per cent.

The problem of providing relief had been sufficiently acute by October, 1930, to warrant the formation of a voluntary organization

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the joint session of the American Public Welfare Association with Division IX (Administration of Public Social Work) of the National Conference of Social Work, Detroit, June 12, 1933.

known as the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief for the purpose of focusing state-wide attention upon a threatening menace; to stimulate local responsibility, and to guide local community planning to meet what then appeared to be a temporary emergency. Under the urge of this organization, local communities of the state raised, during the winter of 1930-31, approximately \$5,600,000 from private sources for emergency relief, of which \$5,000,000 was raised in Cook County. These amounts were in addition to funds raised by established welfare organizations to carry on their regular non-emergency programs, and to the public funds provided by local tax units. These funds in Cook County were exhausted before autumn, 1931. In August of that year the Governor's Commission created the Joint Emergency Relief Fund of Cook County, which set about to raise \$8,800,000 for emergency relief and succeeded in collecting \$10,600,000 from private sources, the largest sum ever subscribed in any charity campaign in that community. Over \$4,000,000 of this amount was spent by the end of November, 1931, and December expenditures alone amounted to \$2,500,000 for the relief of 118,000 families and 16,000 non-family men and women. It was apparent that the entire amount would be far from adequate to provide relief in Cook County throughout the year 1931-32; and a number of other Illinois counties were also faced, by mid-winter, with the prospects of early exhaustion of their relief funds.

Foreseeing the suffering that the destitute families of the state would undergo if further relief funds were not forthcoming, the Governor's Commission and other bodies urged upon the Fifty-seventh General Assembly, convened in its third special session, to provide necessary relief funds from public taxes. Five bills, providing for the raising of a \$20,000,000 state fund and establishing the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission to administer this fund, were enacted as emergency measures and became effective February 6, 1932. Thus ended the period of adequacy of local private and public funds, the state assuming responsibility for sustaining an increasing population stricken by economic inactivity.

#### THE STATE TURNS TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The demands upon the Commission were heavy from the start. Attention to Chicago and Cook County was an immediate necessity,

and, while it had been the opinion of some legislators that counties other than Cook could take care of their own relief requirements, other counties at once began to ask for funds. The need in some areas, especially those of the mining industry, was desperate. By April, 1932, ten weeks after state funds became available, allocations had been made to the stricken areas of Illinois totaling approximately \$10,000,000; and by August 1 the Commission had made funds available to 42 counties in the amount of \$18,750,000, exhausting the cash provided by the state. Relief funds were then being provided for the support of 218,000 families and 22,000 non-family individuals. Thus ended the brief period of adequacy of state funds, and the governor of Illinois applied for and received the first allocation of federal funds, made available as a loan by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under the Federal Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932. These federal funds being made available to the governor of a state to be administered by him, "or under his direction and upon his responsibility," the Governor of Illinois promptly appointed the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission as his agent to administer federal funds, maintaining a continuity and uniformity in the policies and procedures of the administration of state and federal funds in the local communities of Illinois.

During the period August 1, 1932, to May 20, 1933, nine and two-thirds months, supplementary funds to relieve distress on account of unemployment in 68 counties of Illinois, in which live 91 per cent of the state's population, have been made available under the Federal Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932 in the total amount of approximately \$55,000,000, which added to \$18,750,000 state funds spent during the previous six months, gives a total of state and federal resources for unemployment relief during sixteen and two-thirds months of almost \$74,000,000, or an average expenditure of approximately \$4,460,000 per month. During the month of March relief was extended to 332,000 families and 40,000 non-family individuals.

#### POLICIES OF THE ILLINOIS EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMISSION

The operations of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission have hinged about the following considerations stated in terms of policy:

1. The indirect administration of relief by the Commission.

2. The determination of need in local communities.
3. The allocation of funds on a basis of need.
4. The form of relief.
5. The standards of relief administration.
6. Fiscal control in the form of controlled commitments, auditing, and accounting.

From the beginning, the Commission has avoided administering relief directly. It has never attempted to take over directly the tremendous task of all that is implied in providing needy families with the means of subsistence. This position originally resulted largely from the need for immediate activity by the Commission and the inability of that body to set up a new organization for direct relief administration quickly enough to prevent suffering. This position is also consistent with the law establishing the Commission, which provides that "the Commission may make use of and cooperate with counties, townships, and any other municipal corporations charged by law with the duty of poor relief, and with other local relief agencies." Counties have been used as units for relief administration. In each county to which funds have been made available the Commission appoints as its agent a county emergency relief committee. An exception has been made for Cook County. The enormous expenditure of funds in this county called for a closer relationship between the Commission and the agencies actually distributing funds than could be obtained through a county committee. In this County, therefore, the Commission has itself, in effect, served as a county committee, dealing directly with the agencies administering relief.

The county committees are authorized to select qualified existing relief agencies to distribute relief, and allocations have been made to the county committees, which have in turn distributed funds to subsidiary agencies. While the Commission has allowed county committees a great deal of freedom in the choice of such agencies, it has required that, wherever practicable, qualified public agencies should be made use of. The county committee as a general rule consists of five members, the personnel of which is nominated jointly by a field representative of the Commission and the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, and recommended to the Commission for appointment. An attempt has been made in the formation of these committees to obtain a representation of interested organiza-



tions in the county and a personnel which was already active in unemployment relief and other welfare functions. The committee thus formed serves as the arm of the Commission for enforcing its policies and requirements within the county.

Allocations of funds have been made on the basis of need. An attempt has been made to insure that no county should have a surplus of funds while the destitute of other counties were uncared for. Although there have been some requests that funds be distributed on the basis of population, the Commission has steadfastly held to the principle of need. This principle has been strained in some instances in order to induce the counties to make full use of all available local resources. In such cases the *emergency* or *supplemental* and not the *total* relief need has been used, thus compelling the local authorities to take necessary action to provide funds for relief, which otherwise these officials were reluctant to do.

Although the Commission was at first provided with sufficient state funds to meet relief needs of the entire state for a period of a few months, the allocations of such funds typically covered only short periods of time; in most cases one month. This policy was thought to be necessary because the amount of funds available was limited and because it was believed to be impossible at the outset to predict relief needs far in advance. Allocations for periods longer than a month have since been made for a few minor projects such as subsistence gardens and work relief projects.

Assistance to families in distress has taken the form of *direct* relief and *work* relief. In order to conform with the State Finance Act, which by statute controlled the disbursement of state funds, expenditures for direct relief have been limited to the direct purchase of actual supplies and services such as food, fuel, emergency shelter, clothing, medical care, and salaries for administration. Not one cent of such funds has been paid to clients in cash for *direct* relief.

Agents of the Commission have been authorized to incur obligations against state funds to the extent of their allocations and by means of written orders upon purveyors of supplies issued in the amount of the family's need, presented to the purveyor and upon delivery of the supplies to the family the receipted order forwarded by the purveyor to the Commission for payment. In the use of federal funds no restrictions have been placed upon the form of ex-

penditures, but the Commission has followed the same practice as in the disbursement of state funds in extending direct relief. The principle of granting relief in this form is believed to be economical; little else, it seems, can be claimed in its favor.

The policy of the Illinois Commission with respect to the determination of relief standards has, perhaps, lacked celerity and accomplishment. The Commission has declared itself in such terms as, "that relief provided shall be adequate." Further, that "in providing relief to families the amount should make up but not exceed, the difference between the income from other sources and the amount needed to maintain a standard of living which will prevent suffering." While the actual determination of the quantities and qualities of supplies and services to be provided has been largely left to the local relief agents, much assistance has been given by the directors of social service and nutrition of the Commission staff. While it is evident that the activities of these and other staff members in guiding local relief agents have done much to improve standards of relief allowances in the state and to increase the efficiency of the relief dollar in meeting actual needs of the destitute, it is recognized that achievements in this direction are small in comparison with the huge task to be done. Relief standards still show great variations within the state, and in many counties the desire for economy and the fear that liberal standards would encourage dependency have combined to depress relief standards to a level considerably below scientifically accepted adequacy. The wide divergence in the relief expenditures per family in counties of Illinois can be partially accounted for by such factors as:

1. Differences in the average number of individuals per relief family.
2. Differences in the opportunities for partial self-support.
3. Differences in the importance of unorganized relief sources such as relatives, friends, employers, etc.
4. Differences in the amounts of services and equipment without charge.
5. Differences in the levels of prices in various counties.
6. Differences in efficiency of relief agents.

There is evidence to indicate that the average monthly expenditure per family in Illinois counties has risen slightly during the year

ending February 28, 1933. It is believed that a number of the counties which formerly provided very inadequate supplies appreciably increased their relief standards during the year. Since prices were declining throughout the period, any evidence in terms of dollars will slightly understate the true increase. In Cook County the relief expenditure per relief family in February, 1932, was \$18.99 and for the same month of 1933, \$26.76, or an increase of 41 per cent; for the counties exclusive of Cook, the average relief expenditure for relief family in August, 1932, was \$9.99 and \$13.44 in February, 1933, or an increase of 35 per cent for the six months' period. Since February of this year the relative expenditures of Cook and other counties of the state have increased so that at present the expenditures for food alone have reached a monthly average per family of \$21.00 in Cook County and \$10.00 in other counties.

Use has been made of "An Adequate Diet at Minimum Cost" prepared and recommended jointly by the Federal Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Home Economics of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, specifically designed to provide emergency relief, but suitable for use over an indefinite period of time. The Director of Nutrition of the Illinois Commission has used this diet schedule, with minor modifications, as a satisfactory basis for relief family budgets, and which articles at minimum retail prices obtainable in Chicago as of February last, provided a diet to a family of four at an average of \$22.70 per month. At first glance it might be concluded that the expenditures for food in no Illinois county has been sufficient to provide an adequate diet. Before accepting this conclusion, however, allowance should be made for qualifying factors such as (a) the purchase of certain relief supplies at wholesale; (b) the securing of food assistance from sources without cost; and (c) the lower food prices prevailing in counties other than Cook. It is believed that while the diets afforded in Cook County and several other counties approach adequacy, those provided in many downstate counties are quite below the standards set up by federal government experts.

The breakdown of total commitments against state and federal funds during the past year shows 91.59 per cent of all funds has gone for relief alone; 6.76 per cent for salaries, and 1.65 per cent for other administrative costs. A more detailed breakdown shows that of the typical dollar 70½ cents has gone for food, 7 cents for fuel, 2½ cents

for clothing,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents for rent,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents for other minor relief expenditures, 9 cents for work relief,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  cents for salaries, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  cents for other administrative expenses.

The number of persons employed in the administration of relief for which state and federal funds have been used has increased steadily as the relief task has grown, but the amount paid in salaries has increased less rapidly than has the number employed. The average salary per worker has consequently dropped since the Commission was formed and in January, 1933, stood at the low figure of \$86.75 per month. The average monthly salary paid by occupational classes during the year shows a total number of employees of 3,222, of whom 153 superintendents and supervisors received \$170 per month, 1,266 social workers received \$105.00, and 1,842 stenographic, clerical, and other workers received an average salary of \$78.00.

Forming the policies and maintaining a general direction of the activities of this entire emergency relief enterprise have been the tasks of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission itself. The influence of this body over the distribution of relief has been positive and direct. Meetings have been held slightly more frequently than once a week since February 12, 1932. At these meetings the problems confronting the Commission have been considered from many angles and in detail. Allocations have never been made without the presentation of supporting material as to need and as to responsible local administration of the services to accompany the fulfilment of the relief task. The Commission has remained the final judge in all these matters. Its members devoted approximately a total of 3,000 member hours' time to executive meetings during the first twelve months of Commission activity, and in addition, the members, especially the chairman, have given a great deal of time and energy to the work at hand.

The Commission staff has been organized in two units, one responsible for the determination of relief needs and the necessary social service administration to supply that need, and the other responsible for auditing, accounting, and fiscal procedures. The first unit comprises a field staff of persons experienced in social work planning directed by the Associate Executive Secretary and includes also persons of specialized capacity such as a director of social serv-

ice, a director of nutrition, a director of selection of personnel for local communities, a director of work relief, a director of subsistence gardens, a division of relief and financial statistics, and recently a director of selection of men eligible for emergency conservation work. The auditing unit is responsible for control and analysis of commitments and expenditures within allocations made, and because relief and service payments have had to be made to many thousands of different individuals and concerns and because every payment has had to be carefully examined, the work of this unit has been heavy and the staff large. This department issues between 12,000 and 16,000 warrants per day based on approximately 40,000 relief purchase orders.

It may be said that in view of the movement in the United States to centralize all public welfare services of the county in the hands of one county commission or board, the development of the county emergency relief committees in this emergency has had especial significance in Illinois. Leaders in public welfare administration have long contended this centralization to be wise and in the interest of conserving human and financial resources. The advent in Illinois of a state commission has tended in the direction of a state-wide mindedness, and the use of county committees has meant that in this state for the first time representative committees of citizens have observed, studied, and to some extent directed the public welfare functions of the county unit.

The characteristics of the relief problem have changed appreciably during the past months and can be expected to manifest continued changes in the future. While it is not to be hoped that ever all of those changes which have already taken place can be described in a brief concluding statement, it may be well to mention three important characteristics of the relief problem in Illinois which have not always been apparent but are now fairly obvious.

In the first place, it is clearly apparent that, in so far as it implies brevity of duration, the term "emergency relief" is misleading. The task of caring for the destitute unemployed is now being carried into its third year, and it is realized, even by the most optimistic, that the problem will continue to exist for a considerable period in the future.

In the second place, it is perfectly clear that the problem has be-

come a general one. Approximately one-sixth of all the residents of the state are actually receiving relief, while most of the rest of the population is more or less directly concerned. Sixty-eight of the 102 Illinois counties, in which reside 91 per cent of the population, have been forced to request funds from the Commission, while 22 additional counties have made use of recently enacted state relief legislation.

In the third place, it is apparent that the efforts of the local communities to meet their relief needs from strictly local funds have failed and that there is little hope that they can bear the future relief burden by means of local funds for some time in the future. The most liberal tax programs which have yet been given consideration would leave a number of counties unable to take care of their relief problems, and it is evident that it will be necessary to appeal to the federal government for a substantial part of the relief money to be required during the present year.

And finally out of the swiftly passing panorama of these three years of economic desperation are emerging, in outline at least, certain trends that give promise to crystallize into changing patterns of welfare work procedures. In Illinois as well as in other states, the public has become "relief minded." And it is a public tax-relief mindedness that is imprinted deeply in the public's consciousness. The steady flow of enormous sums of state and federal funds for relief purposes, and the occupancy of the relief spotlight by the public relief officials and public welfare machinery in ever widening circles of responsibility may endanger certain other vital and important areas of social work by their being submerged in stagnant pools of backwash. This cannot happen without serious damage to American humanitarian endeavor. As unemployment recedes its retreat will be strewn with permanent social and individual ills whose treatment will require an expanded, strengthened, and balanced welfare program. To preserve, maintain, and enhance such a welfare program is the supreme challenge now facing the statesmen of public and private social work.

WILFRED S. REYNOLDS, *Executive Secretary*

ILLINOIS EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMISSION  
CHICAGO

## SOCIAL WORK IN THE SOUTHWEST<sup>1</sup>

**A**N EXAMINATION of a cross-section of social work that existed in the southwest at the time of the beginning of the present depression reveals much the same condition that was characteristic of most of the other sections of America. What social work there was, was largely limited to the larger cities in the states. As far as the rural sections of these states were concerned, there was very little in the way of social work organizations employing trained personnel and using anything comparable to standard social work practices. As in other sections of the nation, social work of a private character had made very genuine beginnings in such places as Houston, Dallas, Oklahoma City, Little Rock. Government at that time had yet to make any serious beginnings in the cities, either in accepting its responsibility in this field or in establishing agencies with qualified personnel and acceptable standards. Some of the states had made a beginning in meeting their responsibility in the field of social treatment and care, through the establishment of child welfare bureaus and the beginnings under old and institutionalized boards of control. But, in any realistic meaning of the term, what there was, was of a private character, limited to the urban centers, largely.

As a result, when the national economic situation began to displace hundreds of wage-earners and when the products of the farmers did not bring enough to pay the cost of production, these people generally had neither a public agency to which they could turn nor any private group to whom they could appeal for help, except in the few large centers of population. And while this situation was generally true of the nation, it was to a greater degree true in some sections than in others. In Texas the county commissioners courts were and are permitted to relieve chronic paupers. In Arkansas and Oklahoma it virtually requires a vote of the people to secure money to re-

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the joint session of the American Public Welfare Association with Division IX (Administration of Public Social Work) of the National Conference of Social Work, Detroit, June 12, 1933.



lieve others than the small group of chronic paupers traditionally cared for. In cities such as Austin, Dallas, and Little Rock, special leave had been secured by which the governing boards could appropriate and make available funds for the relief of destitution, such as unemployment. Social work, either as a private movement or as a technique in its valid sense, under public auspices, was generally unknown.

To those in these areas who have given thought to the matter and who were working for public appreciation and the establishment of agencies in this field, the situation was so difficult and presented such serious problems and obstacles that little of a widespread effort was attempted. To understand what this section of the nation faced it is necessary to take into account social and economic conditions that have continued to prevail pretty much for many years in the past. Among these is, and was, the presence of large groups of persons presenting economic and social problems of an almost insurmountable character.

First, there is the Negro, with his culture and economic inheritance, established prior to the present economic order and so deepseated and numerous as to have, up to now, discouraged every major effort of solution. By and large, these people work under arrangements that provide them little more than subsistence as a continuous thing. A fundamental shift upward in the spread of economic goods among these people requires the complete reorientation of the agricultural and economic structure of this section. They present a constant and continuing set of social, economic, health problems, so great and so involved as to stagger the imagination of the stoutest hearts who would change the order of their existence.

The second group, which is growing in significance and seriousness, is the Mexicans with their ever increasing families. These people make excellent laborers, live on unthinkable low subsistence rations, and are extremely desirable from the standpoint of laborers by those interested in the development of the industrial and agricultural phases of the community. They have generally resisted any and all attempts at successful integration. They stand apart as a cultural and economic entity and yet they are a part of the com-

munity. They have a direct bearing and influence upon all social conditions in any community. They must be taken into account in any system of social work.

The third group, which probably presents the most discouraging situation, is the "poor whites" with their even larger families. A strange and baffling population, it has spread throughout this section of the nation. They are largely to be found as tenants and farm laborers. They live on a desperately low standard, and have failed to respond to opportunities throughout the life of the development of these sections, even under favorable conditions. They are plagued with pellagra, with a general debility, and a religious fanaticism that mitigates against individual initiative and makes for contentment with their lot whatever it may be.

When this, or any other economic displacement sets in, these groups have very little in the way of resources with which to withstand its coming. They have been, as was graphically described by one, "more or less in a depression all of our lives."

Such were the general conditions of a very considerable portion of the people when the present depression settled on us. The organization and development of any agency which was to cope with relief in these states was under immediate necessity to grapple with these three large groups. There were, and still are, certain major factors that had to be taken into account. There did not exist any governmental structures capable of being expanded sufficiently to offer themselves as auspices in the administration of this work. And it was immediately obvious that it would be necessary to organize and establish such agencies. Second, there was present immediately a widespread and numerous population in acute distress with little in the way of resources, no economic reserve, and immediate willingness to place themselves on whatever agency had assistance to give them. And *third*, a form and standard of living that raised serious questions on the part of community leaders when the whole question of adequacy was raised, was also present. Nowhere else was the difficult problem of whether or not funds made available from any sources would be used in raising living standards, quite so acute as in this section, and in the Southland.

Running parallel to this general condition of social and economic distress were to be found auxiliary agencies of a really high quality, such as home demonstration agents, county nurses, county health units, county agricultural agents, who have had a development on a par with that had in no other sections of this nation. The presence of these agencies offered at once the most hopeful and the most challenging part of the picture. They were largely the outgrowth of middle-class family demand and support. Their support was predicated upon services which they rendered to the general self-supporting and dominant group in the community. To be sure, they served a fringe of these peoples, but theirs was a dominant group support and character. They understood the conditions of these people as the depression grew. They joined in and were helpful in the planning and developing of such agencies as were established but the necessity of their own situations forced them into a continuation of the restricted type of activity which had previously characterized their work, so that it presented the tantalizing problem of social agencies geared into the group that had only marginal social problems.

Now, with this background, it is possible to understand somewhat the character of the work that was possible in organization and administration, in establishing agencies for the relief of the whole economically distressed group which to be sure gradually included many more than those above mentioned.

In working out arrangements for the relief of peoples in this section, there have been two viewpoints constantly supported. One was that this was purely an emergency matter, that the relief of the immediate necessities of these people was the sole responsibility of those in charge. The other viewpoint was that, while the immediate relief of these people was the first obligation of all concerned, yet it was held also that the agencies and instrumentalities developed should if possible be worked out along lines that would make for enduring and continuing services to the communities and the states concerned. It was the contention of this latter group that here was an opportunity to evolve arrangements that would to some extent at least meet the economic, social, and cultural problems of those parts of the

population which had continuously been in need. It is fair to say that only in a relatively few places has the latter viewpoint obtained. By and large, that which has been worked out and is being used is an emergency arrangement and has little in it that can be expected to continue if any considerable portion of these people are provided with an opportunity for earning their own way. But there has been gotten under way and established organizations that the state and local leadership expect and are working to make a permanent part of the life of the people.

Time will permit me to discuss, in any way at all adequate, only one or two of these groups. In Texas there has been set up a legal body, called the Texas Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, and the work there has been placed under this legal body. To be sure, this is only permitted a life of two years as the statute now reads. Already, however, there is considerable discussion looking toward making it a permanent arrangement or incorporating it as a part of a larger movement of a state-wide character. The measure provides for county units, which are formed by county boards of welfare and employment. These units are charged with the administration of all funds made available by the state or federal governments for the assisting of the unemployed and the needy. It further provides that county commissioners courts may designate this agency to administer all funds of a welfare and social work character in the county. These units are being established in some 240 counties in the state. It is the intention of those in charge, including the chief executive of the state, that this group will immediately organize its work along the following lines:

There is to be a social service department or division charged with the intake of all forms of social and economic distress in the county. This to be as nearly as possible based upon a case work technique.

There is to be an employment bureau, and it is the hope of those who are working at the matter that it may be linked in with the national system established by the Act of Congress under the Wagner bill, with an employment service including public work, work to compensate for relief, as well as an agency serving private agencies in the county.

Also—there are already in several of the counties—there is to be a clinic with medical service for the county.

The basis for this whole movement is the belief that the average county is capable of supporting only one social work agency, and that if this is to be secured it must be generally inclusive and provide service of a wide variety of types. Already there are some hopeful signs that the county commissioners on the one hand are coming to regard this agency as a desirable arrangement by which they can be relieved from the constant demands that are made upon them by the socially and economically distressed. It is not too much to hope that after federal funds are withdrawn, a considerable number of county commissioners courts and county boards of supervisors will have found this service of such value as to want to continue it.

On the other hand, there is some growing recognition on the part of citizen-leaders that here is an agency of helpfulness that is desirable and necessary. However, what the attitude of the Legislature, and the local governing bodies, as well as the responsible citizens, will be is a matter of conjecture. It was significant, however, that in Mississippi, where a similar arrangement has been worked out and established under the county board of supervisors, when they were informed that it was improbable that further federal funds would be forthcoming, county after county requested that, even though funds would be withdrawn by which persons could be given relief, sufficient funds be forthcoming to make possible the continuance of the worker who had been placed there. And, of more significance, is the thing that is happening in Texas, where the state commission has taken the attitude that not more than 3 per cent of the total cost of administration was to be paid by the state. In numerous counties already the county commissioners court, which previously had never put up one dollar for administration purposes, were now found to be willing to contribute \$300, \$400, and \$500 a month for administration purposes. It would not have been surprising if that had been an appropriation for the actual relief of destitution, but that they were willing to contribute that amount of money to pay the salary of a social worker, for administration, was indeed a hopeful sign.

Now what is this whole thing going to do to agencies that previously existed on a state-wide basis, such as child welfare bureaus,

parole and probation work? This does give us some concern even though this work has been developed on a very limited scale. It is, obviously, going to be necessary to work out some arrangement that will not destroy the strength which such work has gathered. On the other hand, it is equally clear that what is needed in most of these places is an undifferentiated type of social agency that will include children's work, family work, work in the correctional field, hospital and medical care, as well as the larger problem of economic security. More and more it becomes apparent that the old type of board of control, or department of public welfare, with its motif being largely that of institutional management, has very little to offer in the development of social work on a local, and for that matter, state-wide basis.

It is appropriate here to discuss briefly some implications and possibilities of the above movement. It is obvious that the thing here contemplated has little in common with the old form of social work which has as its subject matter the 3 or 4 per cent of the socially incapable of marked degree, but rather has as its contemplated field that 50 to 60 per cent of the population that is unable to obtain anything in the way of economic stability and security, and which as a result is developing social, health, and physical needs beyond their ability to bear. Such a program has real possibilities from the standpoint of legislative favor. Here is something that is designed to affect the well-being of a majority of the voters of a community whether they be local or state in character. And as such, they will present a new and strong appeal to legislators, county board members, and members of common councils. The root question in this development is whether or not the social agencies established can free themselves sufficiently from the care and demands of this small group, which is perennially on their doorstep, to devote the time necessary to the larger group with problems no less real and disastrous in their effect but which up to now have understood that there was no help for them nor found very much when they applied for assistance.

We are definitely attempting to break with the old idea that a man had to have deserted his family, reduced them to ruin, before

they were eligible for assistance either from the public or the private agency. With the combination of social service and of employment and clinic development, there is possible here immediately service which has sufficient public support to be able to obtain effective aids for the man who is making a crop but is not able to keep pellagra from his child. Here should be service linked to the whole field of social work for this body of people who have need of and by virtue of the industrial organization under which we work can receive some genuine assistance in obtaining employment.

In other words, we are saying to the executives of these states and to the public official group that social work is a set of aids that should be made available to that body of its citizens who are generally thought of as being above the poverty and dependency line, but who to our certain knowledge go in and out of this line with disastrous frequency.

AUBREY W. WILLIAMS, *Field Representative*

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION  
CHICAGO



## CO-ORDINATION OF STATE AND LOCAL UNITS FOR WELFARE ADMINISTRATION<sup>1</sup>

### NEW JERSEY

**P**UBLIC welfare service in America had its origins in relieving in the homes of the indigent through the overseer of the poor, later through the workhouse, almshouse, county home, or hospital. These services were not co-ordinated. "Chips off the old block" of relief are to be found in the unco-ordinated development of mothers' pensions, pensions for the blind and for the aged.

The workhouse, the almshouse, the lockup, the jail, the penitentiary, all represent unco-ordinated development of institutional service, from which other "chips" have been thrown off, represented by the mental hospital, school for the feeble-minded, juvenile reformatory, etc. In addition, juvenile, and adult probation and parole, and preventive programs in the medical and mental field have grown up uncorrelated.

The establishment of the first State Board of Charities by Massachusetts in 1863 represents the first official effort at co-ordination on a state-wide basis; while state departments of welfare and state boards of control represent the modern development in this field. The results of past and present state policy have not given to us the co-ordinated results which we have hoped for except in isolated instances.

Where can we look for successful experience in the development of co-ordinated effort with the development of good standards of work and supervision over a wide area? Such demonstration can be found in the relationship of the federal government to the states.

In 1911 the old policy of direct grants without standards or supervision was abandoned; and the methods of matched grants under specified standards, with federal supervision, opened a new era of

<sup>1</sup> Papers read at the joint session of the American Public Welfare Association with Division IX (Administration of Public Social Work) of the National Conference of Social Work, Detroit, June 13, 1933.

social development over the wide area of the United States. In so short a period as ten months, all the states in the Union accepted federal standards, financial grants, and supervision with regard to various proposals. The Shephard-Towner Act for Maternal and Infant Welfare was accepted by 43 states within four years. No social worker, public or private, needs to be reminded of the results obtained in improved child care as a result of this legislation.

It is obvious that co-ordination and improved standards of work in social, educational, and other fields can be promptly and successfully obtained over a wide area if vision, leadership, and financial help combine in the proposal to change methods of social organization and administration.

The existing economic depression with the exhaustion of the funds of private philanthropy, with the drying up of tax monies, provides a very receptive field for new ideas in public social work, with new forms of organization and administration and standards.

Turning from the field of federal attempts at co-ordination and the development of standards in various types of undertakings, let us look at one state, considering the various attempts made to co-ordinate and to develop standards of work, throughout the area of the state.

The state of New Jersey over a period of thirty-four years has undertaken, by various pieces of social legislation, to adjust its public welfare machinery to meet the needs of changing times. There is no evidence that there was a conscious effort at experimentation looking to a long term, all-inclusive plan co-ordinating all fields of public social work. Each unit as laid down in law, however, actually does provide us with "laboratory material" from which deductions may be drawn as to methods which if used may be expected to result in co-ordination of state and local units for welfare administration.

The developments which I propose to discuss briefly are:

1. The development of the board of children's guardians in 1899 and amendments or additions to the law under which it operates;
2. The creation of the Department of Institutions and Agencies in 1918;
3. The Welfare Act of 1924 for the settlement and relief of the poor;
4. The Old Age Assistance Act of April 24, 1931, providing for county welfare boards;

5. The Amendment of the Welfare Act of 1924 in the session of 1931, providing for county welfare boards for general relief purposes.
6. The Emergency Relief Act of October, 1931, and subsequent acts and amendments.

Let us consider each one of these legislative enactments as a social experiment, out of which we expect to crystallize the substance of social experience which may profitably be used.

#### EXPERIMENT NO. I

The 1899 act creating the board of children's guardians was the outgrowth of an investigation which disclosed the presence of large numbers of children in the almshouses of New Jersey.<sup>2</sup>

This act created an official body which was empowered to accept the guardianship of dependent and neglected children. It was subsequently empowered to administer the Home Life Act of 1913, which in its essence corresponded to mothers' aid or pension acts of other states.

The various acts under which it functioned were mandatory upon the counties, which were obligated to pay the bills for the care of children committed by the courts either as dependents or under the Home Life Act, while the state paid the bills for administration.

The administration was *completely centralized* and no supporting body of local citizens participated in an official or advisory capacity.

With a rapidly increasing number of children to be provided for and consequent rapidly increasing demand upon county tax monies, the local officials became increasingly critical of the work done by the central administrative authority, even casting blame upon the board of guardians for the increasing number of children in care, overlooking entirely the fact that all the commitments were made by their own local courts and overseers of the poor.

On the other hand, the board of guardians was dependent upon the legislature for the direct appropriation of funds for administrative purposes, and it is needless to say that such appropriations over a long series of years have been in *inverse ratio to the number of children in care, and to the amount of money spent by the counties for the care of their own dependent children.*

<sup>2</sup> Active in this investigation was Mrs. Caroline Stevens Wittppenn, subsequently a member of the State Board of Control.

Tables I and II bring this out clearly.

TABLE I  
STATE AND COUNTY EXPENDITURES FOR STATE BOARD OF  
CHILDREN'S GUARDIANS, 1900-1932, AND NUMBER  
OF CHILDREN IN CARE

Year Ending	State	County	Number under Care
October 31, 1900.....	\$ 2,800.00	\$ 1,032.04	88
October 31, 1904.....	8,965.80	21,246.67	539
October 31, 1908.....	8,840.39	21,874.02	737
October 31, 1912.....	13,437.23	41,834.71	1,062
October 31, 1916.....	36,891.51	283,341.09	1,688
June 30, 1920.....	81,398.09	580,583.01	7,704
June 30, 1924.....	118,635.52	1,152,976.51	10,778
June 30, 1928.....	198,059.54	2,110,062.85	16,670
June 30, 1932.....	297,005.40	5,008,822.06	30,995

TABLE II  
RATIO BETWEEN STATE EXPENDITURES FOR AD-  
MINISTRATION AND TOTAL EXPENDITURES  
BY COUNTIES, 1900-1932

YEAR ENDING	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	
	State	County
October 31, 1900.....	73.06	26.94
October 31, 1904.....	29.68	70.32
October 31, 1908.....	28.78	71.22
October 31, 1912.....	24.31	75.69
October 31, 1916.....	11.52	88.48
June 30, 1920.....	12.30	87.70
June 30, 1924.....	9.33	90.67
June 30, 1928.....	8.58	91.42
June 30, 1932.....	5.93	94.06

Such sums as indicated in Table I are enough to stagger county authorities and state legislatures when faced with "economy programs."

Recognizing that with the vastly increased number of children in care the ratio of administrative costs will decrease, it must be obvious that the extreme drop to less than 6 per cent did not provide ade-

quately for the investigation and supervision required by such a social undertaking.

Table III indicates that the expenditure for administration has struck the low point of \$9.58 per year per child.

An additional word as to administrative policy is desirable. In 1918, with the creation of the department of institutions and agencies, the board of children's guardians became a unit in this state

TABLE III  
STATE EXPENDITURES PER 100 CHILDREN UNDER  
CARE, 1900-1932

YEAR ENDING	SUPERVISORY COSTS	
	Per Hundred in Care	Per Child Per Year
October 31, 1900.....	\$3,181.82	\$31.81
October 31, 1904.....	1,663.41	16.63
October 31, 1908.....	1,335.20	13.35
October 31, 1912.....	1,205.28	12.05
October 31, 1916.....	2,185.52	21.85
June 30, 1920.....	1,056.57	10.56
June 30, 1924.....	1,100.72	11.00
June 30, 1928.....	1,188.12	11.88
June 30, 1932.....	958.24	9.58

central body but retained very largely its own independent powers, the commissioner of the department being a member of the board.

Within the last three years, with the advent of good roads in every part of the state, the administrative work of the board is undergoing a process of decentralization by districts and the field staff is being motorized. No local body of interested citizens either by counties or districts has yet been developed for the interpretation and support of the program.

In 1932 the Home Life and Child Welfare Acts were re-written and modified, following the survey by the Pension Survey Commission. By these acts provision is made for more active participation by the board of freeholders (the county taxing and appropriating authorities) in the commitment of children to the care of the board.

The conclusions to be drawn from this social experiment seem to me to be that:

1. A central state administrative and policy-making body is essential to the development of a co-ordination of state and local units in the field of social work;
2. That *mandatory* legislation, providing for the same type and relative amount of service available to all parts of the state is preferable to permissive legislation, which may or may not be accepted;
3. That decentralization of administration and the development of local citizen understanding and support (official or advisory) is likely to assure better understanding of the project by all the people and to provide for its defense in case of attack;
4. That the policy of direct appropriation for purposes of administration is not likely to provide for flexible increase or decrease of funds to meet the needs of supervision of increased or decreased case load.

The establishment of the principle of setting aside a definite percentage of the total funds to be spent for administrative purposes will more nearly meet the need.

#### EXPERIMENT NO. II

The creation of the department of institutions and agencies in 1918 set up a milestone on the long road toward the development of a state board for long-term social planning, for the determination of policy, and the administration of state social work in institutions and agencies. To this board were given certain powers of supervision of county work in various fields. This reorganization with centralization of policy-making and decentralization of administration of state institutions and agencies was the outgrowth of two legislative investigations, one of the penal and correctional institutions headed by Dwight Morrow, subsequently United States senator; the other of the charitable institutions headed by Ellis P. Earle, subsequently the president of the state board of control.

The strength of this body resides in the fact that it is composed of nine public-spirited citizens serving without pay organized as the state board of control, appointed, one each year, for a term of eight years, which term overlaps that of three successive governors. To this board is delegated the responsibility for the administration of all state penal, correctional, and charitable institutional work (i.e., mental, tubercular, veterans, feeble-minded); and agencies for children, the blind, and the aged.

The business and professional work of the department, headed by a professional man, has, therefore, unusual assurance of long-term continuance free from frequent overturn of policy and leadership.

The powers vested in the state board of control to appoint members of local boards of institutions with the approval of the governor; their powers in relation to budget and policy-making, to which policies the institutional and agency boards must conform, make for a co-ordination and standardization of program and for a progressive development.

The social and statistical research work carried on by the department makes it possible to detect social trends and to make plans to meet indicated needs.

The *supervisory powers* vested in the department in relation to county, municipal, and private institutional work, tenuous though it is, provides a means by which local units may be lured (but not driven) toward a unity of effort in the whole field of institutional and agency social work.

The conclusions to be drawn from this second social experiment seem to me to be that:

1. A central official state body of interested citizens, appointed "without regard to political belief or affiliations" (as stated in the act) for long terms, with a minimum of change each year is essential to a continuing, progressive, and co-ordinated program in the field of public welfare;
2. The fact that board members are non-salaried removes the appointment from the category of "political plums" and is calculated to secure citizen representation of high quality;
3. Power vested in the central body to appoint representatives in local units is of prime importance if policies are to be carried out, and co-ordination assured;
4. Control of budget building by the central body and supervision of its expenditure within prescribed limits is essential;
5. Social research must be an integral part of the long-term planning program;
6. Supervisory powers over local public and private social agencies to be most effective should be mandatory.

#### EXPERIMENT NO. III

The 1924 "Act for the Settlement and Relief of the Poor" revised the ancient poor-law of the state. However, it left in the hands of the 563 overseers of the poor of New Jersey their function of outdoor relief, completely decentralized, but it added a permissive power of



which the citizens of the county might avail themselves if they wished to modernize their poor-law machinery.

The county freeholders were empowered by this act to establish a county welfare house; and to appoint a welfare board for its administration. The welfare board served without pay and was empowered to appoint the superintendent of the welfare house and (he or she), with the consent of the municipalities of the county, was empowered to assume the duties and powers of the overseer of the poor within the respected municipalities.

The act even went so far as to permit the setting up, by adjacent counties through mutual legal agreement, of district welfare boards and a district welfare house, thus making it possible for rural, sparsely settled counties to avail themselves of modern methods of care.

Certain powers of inspection, advice, supervision, and required reports were vested in the department of institutions and agencies.

Needless to say, under this permissive legislation, progress was slow. The first county, Monmouth, accepted the provisions of the act, within five years. It is interesting to note that the acceptance of this act in the county was promoted by Mrs. Geraldine M. Thompson, a member of the state board of control and a citizen of Monmouth County.

A county welfare house, under a competent welfare board of interested citizens, was created and is now administered on a high level of efficiency as a chronic hospital and home. The superintendent is a graduate registered nurse. The department of institutions and agencies was called upon to advise in the social and architectural planning for this institution.

One or two additional counties have taken official steps in the direction of a county welfare house, and one or more have called the old almshouse by another name!

The conclusions which can be drawn from this third social experiment are that:

1. Permissive legislation provides a slow process for bringing about change in governmental organization and administration, but it does have an educational value;
2. A welfare board created for the purpose of administering a county welfare house is a long step in advance of the old style of administration by a sub-

- committee of the board of freeholders; and that the correlation of outdoor relief with institutional relief is sound policy;
3. The recognition of the changed nature of the problem embodied in the welfare house, from that of operating a farm to that of conducting an infirmary for the care of the chronically ill, is emphasized in the appointment of a graduate nurse instead of a farmer as the chief executive and indicates definite response on the part of the public official to definite social change;
  4. The consultation and advisory service of the central department provided the local official group with much needed aid in planning at no cost to them.

## EXPERIMENT NO. IV

The Old Age Assistance Act of 1931 grew out of the work of the pension survey commission of which the commissioner of the department of institutions and agencies was a member.

It was mandatory in its provisions upon all counties. It provided for a central policy-making and supervisory authority vested in the department; and for unpaid county welfare boards for decentralized administration in all counties, their executive to be a county welfare director paid for out of county funds.

The funds for the purpose of grants to the aged under the act are provided, 75 per cent by the state and 25 per cent by the county, the county to provide for the costs of administration of the county unit. The state division of old-age relief according to law: "shall prescribe a uniform system of records and accounts . . . to be kept . . . and shall supervise administration of old age relief . . . to the end that there may be throughout the state a uniform standard of record and method of treatment of aged poor persons, based upon their individual needs and circumstances."

This marks a very long step ahead in the administration of relief placing it practically on a case work basis.

## EXPERIMENT NO. V

A companion bill was passed by the same legislature permitting (by referendum) any county to establish its system of outdoor relief on a county, instead of a township basis, integrating the whole system of relief under the same county welfare board and including the administration of the county welfare house.

Interesting it is to note that the mandatory old-age assistance act became operative as provided by law on a county basis, but

what was good enough for the aged was not thought suitable for general relief and the permissive act, including general relief, was accepted by only three counties, and in but one of these it is conducted on a high level of efficiency. The "embattled overseers" constitute a formidable opposition to any change in their powers of public relief.

The problem of relating state appropriations for administration to the control of funds spent, and for the maintenance of standards, is again emphasized as a very real one. The total amount appropriated by the state is but \$12,500 for administration, of which only \$9,720 is for salaries; while the total old-age grants for the year approximate \$2,098,000 of which \$1,574,000 will come from the state treasury, which means that the state administrative allowance for the safeguarding of its own funds and for maintenance of standards is less than 1 per cent of the sum administered.

It should be stated that the provision made for state regulation and standardization has been accepted cordially by the counties and the prestige and dignity of the boards has been distinctly enhanced.

The conclusions which may be drawn from this fourth and fifth social experiments are that:

1. A mandatory act wisely conceived and accompanied by financial assistance from the larger to the smaller governmental unit will be readily accepted even though it may restrict the freedom of action of the smaller unit;
2. The principle of state supervision with local administration proves sound and effective;
3. The combined administration of institutional relief through the welfare house, outdoor relief, and old-age assistance under one county welfare board is within the capacity of that agency to perform if properly staffed;
4. The local agency accepts from the state agency rules and regulations as to standard practice with little controversy when a financial grant accompanies the regulation;
5. Direct appropriation for purposes of administration of social services which tend to fluctuate in volume are unlikely to meet the needs and usually lag far behind the demands for service.

#### EXPERIMENT NO. VI

The emergency relief acts of 1931 and subsequent acts made necessary by extraordinary economic conditions have brought into the picture an entirely new set of forces which have thoroughly shaken

the foundations on which the overseer of the poor built his system (or lack of system) of outdoor relief.

The load of relief need is unprecedented in amount and in numbers of persons in distress; tax monies have been gradually exhausted; private philanthropy can no longer supplement; taxpayers associations demand an accounting of monies spent and the old time overseer has found himself in no position to give the necessary information and frequently he has been unable to keep any records. This collapse of the antiquated system of poor relief and the exhaustion of local funds resulted in the passage of emergency relief acts giving dictatorial powers to a state director of relief and associating with him in an advisory council of which the commissioner of institutions and agencies is a member. The director is empowered to appoint county and municipal directors; to appoint advisory bodies of citizens; to set up standards of accounting, social investigation, records, and reports so that at long last over the entire area of the state there is an approximate unity of relief administration.

A professional central staff supervisory and educational in its functions, as it relates to local relief administration, has been set up. What is more, the state has provided relief to local communities of over \$27,000,000 supplementing more than \$12,500,000 spent by counties and municipalities in the last two years.

The administration of relief funds is completely decentralized, under close supervision, except in bankrupt communities in which case the central state agency takes charge. A comprehensive audit of all monies received and spent is carried on continuously and periodic statements are issued to all those responsible for county and municipal relief. All policies, rules, and regulations are placed in the hands of all county and municipal directors in typewritten or printed form in order that there may be no misunderstanding and consequent maladministration.

The Emergency Relief Administration is in close contact with the relief work of the board of children's guardians, the commission for the blind, the old-age assistance, the library commission, the Agricultural College, and with the county adjusters and the department of institutions and agencies.

The costs of administration are paid out of the total funds appro-

priated for relief at the discretion of the director, but no definite percentage is fixed. This makes for great flexibility in meeting case load requirements.

Research is carried on in various fields by the central staff of the Emergency Relief Administration and an educational process is in continuous operation under the auspices of the manager of social service of the organization.

The conclusions which may be drawn from this sixth social experiment are that:

1. A centralized, policy-making, standardizing, and administrative body is necessary to bring about correlation of social effort;
2. A dictatorship should be democratically modified by an official advisory body;
3. That mandatory law in line with good social practice will be accepted;
4. That this acceptance of mandatory law is accelerated if funds from a central source are made available to equalize the unequal places in social need;
5. Decentralized administration, under supervision, gives the most satisfactory and stable method of service combined with a local sense of responsibility;
6. The principle of paying for costs of administration out of funds which are to be administered is sound and effective either on a percentage basis or on a discretionary basis, if wisely administered;
7. The central system of education of the decentralized administrative units is an essential part of such a program; this implies for its successful accomplishment a professionally trained supervisory staff capable of interpreting policy, methods, and techniques;
8. Carefully prepared memoranda containing rules, regulations, information, etc., and consultation service on request, without cost to the local unit, will be a most effective instrument for improving the local work;
9. Consolidated reports covering the entire state submitted to the local units will have a beneficial effect in bringing up standards and promoting unity of effort.

These six acts and their amendments, supplements, and revisions chronicle the thirty-four-year climb of the citizens of New Jersey out of the pit of archaic, unorganized public welfare service to a higher level of humane, intelligent care and relief of the handicapped.

Each act has its strength and its weakness; each marks at some point a step upward. With such tested experiments as a guide it should be possible to synthesize, out of the strengths, a sound, integrated program of social welfare co-ordinating state and local units for effective administration.

When the people have at last learned that public welfare is a professional function of government they will insist upon such co-ordination.

ELLEN C. POTTER, M.D., *Director of Medicine*

NEW JERSEY STATE DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES  
TRENTON

### MINNESOTA

Prior to September, 1932, the state of Minnesota had carried its load of poor relief unaided, but a critical period had arrived. Tax delinquencies, which formerly were a minor inconvenience, became major difficulties and became so numerous and the amounts involved so large that old methods and remedies no longer sufficed. While all parts of the state suffered to a considerable extent, it was in the large cities and in the northern counties with their cut-over timber areas and closed mines that relief needs were most highly concentrated. Large areas of land in these counties will eventually become public domain through tax delinquencies. These counties, together with the industrial centers of Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, constitute the relief area of the state at the present time. Sixty-one counties in the agricultural section, south and west of the Twin Cities, are still carrying their own relief loads.

No state relief could be obtained before the meeting of the legislature in January, 1933. City and county officials, unable to await this action of the legislature, petitioned the governor for assistance in securing federal funds.

The act of Congress passed July, 1932, known as the Emergency Relief and Construction Act, making available the sum of \$300,000,000 to the states under terms and conditions set forth in the act in furnishing relief and work relief to needy and distressed people created a new situation. Quoting from report of the American Public Welfare Association:

The administration of Federal relief was a new experience; needs were acute; an emergency existed, and each state acted independently. Few states were organized and equipped for the administration of these funds. As a result, there has been little or no uniformity in state organization and procedure or in methods and standards used.

During the past year unemployment relief has overshadowed all other phases of social work and exceeds in volume and in scope anything in our previous history. Like most states we were not prepared to meet this situation. This period of stress and unemployment has made us aware of some of the weaknesses of our state welfare program. There has been a growing tendency to recognize that relief is a matter of public or government concern and responsibility. We are coming to recognize that the taxing power of the government is the fairest and most secure method of securing funds for poor relief and other social welfare needs. Taxation fixes the burden on all in proportion to their ability to pay. This public responsibility had been recognized to some extent in Minnesota in state aid to public schools, public health service, Workmen's Compensation Act for the industrially disabled and injured, mothers' assistance, direct poor relief to families, special aid for the blind, for the ex-service man and his family, for institutional care of state wards, and for county poor farms and hospitals. Old-age pensions were optional in Minnesota until the 1933 legislature made them compulsory after January, 1934. Five counties have adopted the optional law to date. (These include the counties containing the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth; total expenditures of three cities for old-age pensions, 1932, being \$323,200.)

During the year 1932 in Minnesota, as elsewhere, the depression had reached many local governments in full force, and late in September, 1932, Governor Olson appointed Morris B. Lambie, executive secretary of the league of Minnesota municipalities, and professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, as state relief administrator, and requested the Minnesota state board of control, which is the welfare department of the state, to investigate the relief needs of each community making application for relief; also to establish standards and procedure for the administration of local relief from any funds obtained from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Traditionally and in fact it has been the responsibility of the local community to administer poor relief and see that aid reached the individual family needing help. There has been a tendency toward decentralization along many lines. However, it has been clearly dem-



onstrated during the past three years that relief responsibility and its administration is no longer a matter of wholly local concern. New and widening responsibilities, involving state and federal as well as local government, had to be met and much thought and consideration was given to these changing policies.

In asking me to speak on this subject it was suggested that the Minnesota program might be of interest to the conference in general.

Our procedure was as follows: Upon receipt of the governor's request that we proceed with our plans for securing federal funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation application blanks were immediately sent out by the relief administrator and the state board of control to the boards of county commissioners in all the counties, and also to all the cities and villages of over 2,500 population located in counties under the township system of poor relief. In counties operating under the county system of poor relief the county board is responsible for the care of the poor, and it was only necessary to communicate with this board. In counties operating under the township system, each city, village, and township government is responsible for the care of its own poor, and as a result, a complete survey of such counties was impossible because of lack of time and funds.

An estimate of the approximate relief needs of the counties and other political subdivisions making application for federal relief was necessary. Field representatives of the children's bureau of the state board of control, who are trained and experienced social workers, were sent to contact members of the county boards of commissioners, other county officials, representatives of other agencies who were doing welfare work in the various communities, and representative citizens of the county, in order that a fairly approximate estimate of the county's relief needs might be made.

Mr. Morris B. Lambie, state relief administrator, had just completed a study of the fiscal conditions of the political subdivisions of the state for the Minnesota league of municipalities, and this excellent report was available for use in determining the financial ability or inability of each county or local subdivision to care for its poor relief needs. Assessed valuation, tax revenue, indebtedness, tax delinquencies, and financial going responsibilities of the county were considered.

With this information and the information furnished as to the actual number of families estimated to be in need by the field representatives, the board of control was in a position to pass upon the applications of the several counties with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Budgets were estimated on an average monthly allowance of \$25 for a family of five and \$8 a month for each non-family individual in the cities. An allowance of \$15 a month for non-family individuals in the remaining counties was asked to meet the rigors of our northern climate, the majority of single recipients being located there. Applications thus estimated were approved by the governor and presented to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation by the state administrator of relief and allowed.

It now became necessary to organize a county committee in each of the nineteen counties for the proper distribution of the funds thus obtained. The relief administrator and the state board of control proceeded to set up an organization considered best suited to meet local conditions and to secure the most satisfactory administration of these funds. The plans were carried out by the field representatives of the children's bureau under the supervision of Chas. F. Hall, director of the bureau.

In order to explain our relief administration set-up, may I state briefly our present plan of state and local units for child welfare administration. The Minnesota laws of 1917 charged the state board of control with the administration of the laws for the protection of the handicapped children of the state; the illegitimate, defective, dependent, and neglected, and delinquents. The board was authorized, when requested so to do by the county board, to appoint in each county three persons, resident therein, at least two of whom shall be women, who shall serve without compensation, except traveling expenses, and hold office during the pleasure of the board, and who, together with a member of the county board, to be designated by said county board, and the county superintendent of schools, shall constitute a child welfare board for the county. Additional responsibilities have been given the members of these boards from time to time by legislative action. The county child welfare board may also, when requested to do so by the county board, perform the duties of probation and school attendance officers, may assist in the adminis-

tration of mothers' pensions and of poor relief, the county child welfare board having authority to select its executive secretary and such other assistants as needed.

Thus the representatives of our children's bureau and many of our county child welfare board members were already familiar with the county programs of poor relief and were personally acquainted with the county officials. Of Minnesota's 87 counties, 80 have county child welfare boards.

It has been recognized that the county is the most practical area for the administration of general welfare laws. Clearly the township is too small a unit for social service administration as the basis of taxation is too limited to meet the necessary costs of service according to modern accepted standards. The existence of the township system has made the task of administering poor relief in these counties a most difficult and unsatisfactory one, 34 counties operating under the township system, the remaining 53 having the county system.

This intimate knowledge of the counties' social and financial needs and acquaintance with local officials made possible the set-up of an organization for the administration of federal relief which was acceptable to the local community and satisfactory to the state and Federal authorities.

#### COUNTY EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMITTEE

In considering local administration it may be presumed that the office of county commissioner or city councilman is incompatible with that of relief administrator of state or federal funds; therefore, in our plan of organization it was deemed unwise to attach the direct administration of relief funds to the county board or to the local city council.

It was deemed advisable to set up a separate committee consisting of two members of the board of county commissioners; two members of the county child welfare board; and a fifth member selected by the other four, who was to be someone with varied contacts throughout the county such as the county highway engineer, county superintendent of schools, or the representative of some agency familiar with the relief needs of the county, to administer the funds. Thus

the county board was given representation but not exclusive charge of the funds to be administered, and the state board of control had representation to care for the state's interests.

In addition to this voluntary committee, known as the county emergency relief committee, the members of which were to serve without compensation except for traveling expenses, the board of control deemed it necessary to have one or more paid county relief workers in each county in direct charge of the expenditures of the funds with the approval of the county emergency relief committee, and also to make the family investigations as to the actual needs. The county emergency relief committee was given authority to appoint such workers as might be approved by the board of control. Because of lack of people properly trained in family investigation and because of local prejudices and politics, the county workers were for the most part selected by the board of control. Following conferences with local officials and representatives of social welfare agencies of the cities of St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth, it was decided to administer the federal relief funds through the already existing relief agencies. Some minor changes were necessary, St. Paul and Duluth being located in counties under county system of poor relief, and having joint county and city responsibility for care of the poor. Minneapolis, in Hennepin county, where township system prevails, was authorized to use its city board of public welfare set-up which had charge of the administration of poor relief in the city.

Because of local conditions in the city of Duluth and St. Louis county, a county emergency relief committee was organized, using as far as possible the local agencies administering poor relief.

The rapid expansion of these programs for the administration of relief through the large cities and also the entire group of northern counties (25 in number) has increased the difficulty of finding competent experienced personnel, who possess the organization ability, leadership, and personality which this work demands. Placements of trained social workers in tax-supported agencies have been increasing. Public agencies are recognizing the value of trained service, and social workers are recognizing the possibilities in public service agencies.

This depression, which has become a universal calamity with its

emergency relief needs, has brought about an integration of interests and efforts of private and public agencies which indicates better understanding, better co-operation and co-ordination of efforts resulting in more efficiency in the carrying out of our relief programs, the social workers in each group becoming better informed as to the community program as a whole. In the city of St. Paul practically the entire staff of family case workers of the United Charities were loaned to the county emergency relief committee to assist in the administration of public relief. This was also true in the city of Duluth, where the executive secretary of the Community Fund became director of the county and city relief administration. In the city of Minneapolis there is close co-ordination of the various relief agencies, although the board of public welfare of the city has direct charge of the administration of poor relief.

Through this entire organization period we have had the co-operation of other state departments, University of Minnesota, especially the department of political science and the department of sociology through the division of social service training, the family welfare associations, and other welfare agencies of the tri-cities. Because of the lack of trained and experienced social workers it has been necessary to employ trained organizers, trained and experienced home economists, public health nurses, who have had the social service slant in their experience, and trained but inexperienced social workers, and place them under the supervision of experienced trained people. The patience, sympathy, courage, and resourcefulness with which they have carried on under the greatest difficulties in remote and isolated regions, by every conceivable mode of travel—auto, team, on horseback, on foot, on skis or Indian snow shoes, and even by airplane, during the severest winter weather, are enough to make us all proud of their achievements. Two hundred and seventy, with some 125 clerical aids, are now employed in the direct family investigation and case work in the state. Total federal grants to Minnesota were \$3,071,780.00. The family load carried reached its peak in February, when some 46,000 families were receiving relief from federal funds. There has been a substantial decrease in this load for the past two months due to the seasonal pickup in employment and to the assuming of its own relief load by the city of Minne-

apolis, but there has been no industrial development sufficient to relieve the relief situation to any great extent.

The salaries of the county workers and their office and travel expenses are paid by the board of control from funds set aside for county administration. The cost of state administration was paid through funds provided by Governor Olson until legislative appropriation was available.

Recognizing the value of work relief in preference to direct relief, efforts were made in every community to furnish work for the able-bodied recipients of relief, the prevailing wage scale of the community being used. In co-operation with local county officials and with the aid of the state forestry and highway service many work projects were carried on—cutting and furnishing wood to families on relief, brushing and clearing along county highways and in state forests and parks. In fact, all sorts of projects that for lack of funds could not otherwise have been put through.

Early in May representatives of the central office met in the relief territory with the county workers and planned individual and community garden projects for the relief districts. In these projects we have the co-operation of the local welfare agencies; the county agricultural agents, and the department of home economics, College of Agriculture, which agency will assist in home demonstrations in the canning and preservation of food. It is hoped that with favorable weather conditions the relief load may thus be materially lightened.

The President's challenge of "An Army of Boys in Conservation Camps" instead of "An Army of Boys on the Loose" has stirred the public imagination, given hope, courage, and adventure to hundreds of thousands of boys, and possibilities of service to every thinking citizen and welfare agency in the land. The state board of control was requested by the United States Department of Labor to select 5,250 boys for these camps, the state's quota. The requested number were either in or through Fort Snelling before June 7—the date set by President Roosevelt. Let us stand by ready to aid in every possible way this tremendous constructive undertaking. Minnesota, being in the forest area, can furnish through its conservation department opportunity for large numbers of camps (34 state forest camps, 15 federal camps, and 9 erosion camps).

Members of the staff of institute of unemployment, University of Minnesota, are working with us in an attempt to be of assistance in some constructive plans for unemployed women.

#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

When the state legislature assembled in January, 1933, legislation tending to make for security to the workman and to the aged and infirm in times of stress, industrial insurance, old-age pensions, uniform and efficient administration of public funds—in other words, putting the problems of human welfare on a business basis, was a logical reaction to the situation in the state.

#### SOCIAL WELFARE LEGISLATION PROGRAM

*Included,* An act approving the action of the governor in securing funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and authorizing him to continue to secure such further grants of funds as he deemed necessary; approving his appointment of the board of control to administer relief funds; and approving the manner of administration of federal funds by said board. The governor's request designating the board as the official agent charged with the administration of relief funds in Minnesota, both state and federal, and appropriating \$51,000 for a period of two years for the purpose of administration, was passed.

Also; an act authorizing the state board of relief, which is the governor's executive council, composed of the chief elective officers of the state, to issue certificates of indebtedness to the amount of \$1,500,000 for the biennial period, the proceeds thereof to be expended by the state board of control for poor relief, was passed.

Other legislation included an industrial insurance bill, which failed to become a law, and the amending of our present law, making old-age pensions compulsory in all the counties after January, 1934.

Other welfare bills passed by the 1933 legislature included bills for removing legal restrictions on bond issues and tax levies in certain cities and authorizing counties to issue bonds to care for the poor.

Following legislative action creating the board of control as the state relief agency, Mr. Lambie, who had given voluntary service without pay, retired as state administrator of relief, because of his



other responsibilities, and his assistant, Mr. Frank Rarig, was selected by the board of control to assist in directing the affairs of this division of its work.

#### A BILL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNTY WELFARE BOARDS

An attempt was made on the part of the relief administrator, the board of control, and representatives of other agencies interested in social welfare problems as well as in the administration of poor relief to establish a new county welfare board system. The object of this bill was to create a county welfare board in those counties receiving federal or state relief funds which would take the place of the two boards now functioning in those counties; namely, the county emergency relief committee and the county child welfare board. (Twenty-one of the twenty-five counties receiving federal relief have county child welfare boards.) For some time we have recognized the need of a county board of welfare broader in scope, yet including the duties and responsibilities of the county child welfare boards. The fact that the county commissioners have been requesting the child welfare board members to assume many responsibilities concerning general welfare problems made such legislation as this bill sought a logical outcome. We were fortunate in having the advice and approval of Mr. William Hodson on this bill. Mr. Hodson was instrumental in establishing County Child Welfare Laws of 1917 and knew Minnesota conditions and welfare program. The bill attempted to establish the county as the local area for the administration of poor relief and general welfare service in all counties receiving either state or federal relief funds, except the counties containing cities of the first class (Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul), and made this form of organization permissive in all counties. The bill provided that in order for a county to receive federal or state aid for the relief of the poor the county board of commissioners by resolution shall request the establishment of a county welfare board in compliance with the terms set forth in the bill.

The county welfare board was to include two members chosen by the board of county commissioners from the members of said board of commissioners; three members appointed by the board of control from among residents of the county; one member of the said board



to be the county superintendent of schools; and a seventh member selected from among the residents of the county by the above mentioned six members.

The bill further provided that the county board of welfare shall appoint an executive secretary with the approval of the state board of control, or from a list prepared by the state board of control, on the basis of experience, training, and other necessary qualifications. The bill provided that the county welfare board shall be the child welfare board of the county also, and pursuant to the laws governing said board shall perform such duties as may now be required of the child welfare board by law or by the board of control. The county welfare board was to prepare for the board of county commissioners the budget of the relief and other welfare needs of the county. In the event that no further federal or state funds were allotted to or required by any county for the relief of the poor it was hoped that the county board of commissioners would retain the county welfare board for general welfare service. However, by resolution the board of county commissioners might abolish the welfare board in the same manner in which they created it if so desired; the county child welfare board to remain in *status quo*.

In short the bill provided for state supervision of either state or federal relief funds. It determined the size of the relief area by making the county the relief unit. It placed administration of relief under central supervision and provided for establishment of proper standards and accepted procedure in the administration of poor relief, and increased scope of county child welfare board and made state approval of board's executive secretary necessary.

This bill for the organization of county welfare boards had the approval of the social legislation committee, of public welfare agency, of the legislative representatives from all of the counties receiving federal relief funds or who were anticipating the need of state or federal relief funds. Nevertheless, in the stress of a most unusual number of bills and the general chaotic condition, with almost a 50 per cent turnover in membership of house, this bill, together with some 1,700 other bills, failed to come up for a vote.

It will be observed that the present county emergency relief committee has been organized along lines similar to those recommended

in this bill for the establishment of county welfare boards and based on the same underlying principles. In order to familiarize the local communities with this type of organization we have further adopted other features of this bill in the following manner: having authority under broad and general authority given the board in appointing it as state agency for administration of state and federal funds:

In the organization of the division of the board of control which directs the administration of federal relief the field representatives of the children's bureau, who are assigned to these counties in the regular course of their child welfare activities, have become members of the relief administration staff on a part-time basis, thus combining the work of the two boards in the manner in which the proposed bill provided. In other words, the passage of the county welfare board bill would have been to a great extent a legal recognition of what the board is at the present time doing through its county emergency relief organization and its county child welfare boards. We are trying to build a permanent progressive welfare program for the state. No doubt an attempt to secure passage of this or a similar bill will be made at the next session of the legislature.

This welfare legislation had the personal interest and support of Governor Olson, whose socially minded attitude made possible our welfare program. Much time and effort on the part of Messrs. C. J. Swendsen and L. G. Foley, the other members of the state board of control, together with the machinery of our organization, has been devoted to the carrying out of this program for the maintenance of wholesome normal life, including health, happiness, and morale of all of our people.

BLANCHE L. LA DU, *Chairman*

MINNESOTA STATE BOARD OF CONTROL  
ST. PAUL

## A STATE HANDLES ITS PUBLIC WELFARE PROBLEMS<sup>1</sup>

WE WHO are directly engaged in social work have faced the problems of social unadjustment as an everyday task. But today, so serious and so far reaching has been the impact of the disaster, that we find ourselves only one of many groups which have been irresistibly drawn into investigating its nature and proposing remedial measures. In every field of American life, among scientists, engineers, politicians, and educators, you will find the same questioning, the same weighing and probing. Today you cannot turn the page of your newspaper without reading such phrases as: "the new social order," "the changing principles of government," "the responsibility of the state," "the end of *laissez faire* methods," "the new relation of the state to the people." From the circle closest to the White House comes the statement that "No government could stand today if it failed to recognize these enormous new forces or to understand the thing that has happened."

What is this thing that has happened? And what forces are these which the state must recognize? It needs no repeating to this assembly that, conservatively estimated, there are between twelve and fifteen million able-bodied workers unemployed in the United States today. Exact figures are unavailable, because no such figures have ever been compiled. In New York State, alone, 396,884 families, involving 1,600,000 persons, are now dependent for existence upon public relief. Between the end of March and the end of April, 1933, the number of persons on the public relief rolls in New York State increased by 10 per cent, while the amount spent for relief decreased by 9 per cent.

As representatives of social work, let us examine the significance of these figures in relation to what we call the normal conditions of

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the joint session of the American Public Welfare Association with Division IX (Administration of Public Social Work) of the National Conference of Social Work, Detroit, June 15, 1933.

life in our social system. It is customary among a great many of our citizens to think that our present difficulties were created suddenly, as the result of a stock-market crash in October, 1929. This is not true. Unemployment began a number of years before this date; and today our best economists agree that though the severity of the disaster may be considerably assuaged, unemployment will permanently be a social factor unless redirected into social activity as a result of definite social planning and industrial control.

Between 1923 and 1928, for instance, there was a standing army of over two million able-bodied persons willing to work, who could yet find no place in our industries. Machines were displacing men in the factories at such speed that in 1927 there were nearly half a million less employees engaged in manufacturing than in 1923, yet the value of the goods they produced increased by over one and three-quarters billions of dollars. Between 1923 and 1928, a period of unprecedented prosperity, the average yearly wage of the factory worker in America dropped \$55. Between 1916 and 1925 the amount of money spent on relief in a cross-section of America trebled. Astounding as this may seem, it is estimated that in 1929, at the peak of a mass production of commodities such as no other civilization has ever witnessed, 4,120,000 men were unable to find employment.

Then, late in 1929, began one of those cyclical paralyses of our business life which we term a depression. New millions joined the ranks of the unemployed. We had these depressions before, and always in the natural course of events we recovered. The 1929 depression we soon discovered, however, was unlike any other. Like a high-speed motor test it has singled out all the strains and flaws, all the leaking valves and faulty gears in our social mechanism; and these flaws, we must now frankly admit, are no mere surface cracks: they penetrate deep into the very core of our structure.

So now we have a new and permanent insecure group, a group created by the very process of our social organization and production: musicians thrown out of work by sound pictures; factory workers displaced by the belt system and automatic machinery; clerks have had to give way to calculating machines; laborers sent home in scores by the steam shovel, the mast hoist, and the conveyor. Scientific management and regularization of industry, desirable in

themselves, have permanently lessened the necessary man-power of industry.

This is what we call technological displacement. It is one of the by-products of our industrial development. As social workers we are intimately concerned with this by-product. We shall be waging a futile fight if we fail to plan social safeguards against the human unadjustments which follow in the wake of these rapid organic industrial changes.

Students of social life are aware that in this country we have gone through a profound reorganization and realignment. What was once chiefly an agricultural society, with a philosophy of individualism, has been converted into an industrial society, highly uniform, highly centralized and mechanized. The days when the bulk of our citizens were freeholders, artisans, or skilled workmen are past. Today in our vast manufacturing plants where one man tightens a bolt, another steps on a treadle, and a third shifts a lever, there is practically no premium on skill. Since ever fewer men are needed to operate the machines, only the youngest, strongest, and speediest are retained; so that employees find the span of their working life cut even shorter and shorter. In other words, the average American industrial worker today, as a result of the normal functioning of our society, finds himself face to face with the prospect of monotonous mechanical employment, a possible early discharge, and after that a long stretch of precarious existence.

In contrast to these facts and actualities, we find among the generality of our people a great theoretical and cultural lag. Though we live so obviously in a world of machines and masses, too much of our thinking still circles around practices that died with the days of the hand-craftsmen's shop, free land, the frontier, and the nearest neighbor a mile away. It is difficult for us to face the fact that the day of individualism and self-determinism is past. Hence, between what as a nation we *do*, and what as a nation we *think*, we find ourselves torn by conflict and split apart.

The immediacy of the problems facing every community has blinded us not only to the long term nature of our problem but also to the factors which are involved in social suffering. Plans projected for dealing with the general situation are prepared all too often with-

out actual and expert knowledge of what the situation involves. Similarly, the operation of social machinery is all too often interfered with and disrupted by persons who have never given any thought to the cause of social distress, nor do they possess any appreciation of the facts of personality breakdowns or other subtle psychological disturbance. In other words, the thinking and planning to offset social disaster is too often frustrated by others who have neither the training nor the concern to deal effectively with the multiplicity of factors entering into human unadjustment. It is a clear expression of the existing cultural lag.

Relief is still too often given in the spirit of the old poormaster of agricultural days, who doled out niggardly sub-existence of "charity" to "paupers," as they were then called, with his eye focused less on the need of the individual than on the importance of pleasing short-sighted but influential taxpayers.

The New York State Commission on Unemployment Problems found in 1931 that of fifty-nine cities outside of New York City only a few made any attempt to base home relief on the actual needs of the applicant. Rent was paid only when the applicant was in dire peril of eviction—and often not even then. Contrary to the public welfare law of the state few welfare officers paid for clothing, medical aid, or light. In half of the cities of the state only a ration dangerously close to starvation and freezing was allowed. Yet, social welfare in New York State is on as high a level as that of any other state in the Union.

A hearing in a leading midwest city not so long ago revealed that the system of relief there forced the unemployed into a position of abject humiliation, broke them in spirit and resources first, before a nickel of aid was granted. One state, which in 1929 had not a single trained social worker on the payroll, authorized the sale of the poor to the "best responsible bidder," thus returning to the old "auction system" which we thought confidently we had long since abandoned.

What such inadequacies in a social welfare system mean in terms of weakened mothers; in disease from malnutrition, crowding, and slum congestion; in lack of proper medical care; in mental wear and tear on the destitute; in the dissolution of families; in emotional

maladjustment and insanity, we social workers can easily understand. We know that such a system must inevitably have far-reaching effects. Here, as in Germany following the war blockade, the effects of undernourishment will not be fully comprehended until fifteen or twenty years will have passed.

The truth is that in the present emergency, social welfare standards in America have received a severe set-back. Values we have fought for over a period of many years have been scrapped. Scientific practices we have been able to apply only after a long struggle have been thrown overboard as the great deluge of distress washed on us and found us, amply forewarned, but unprepared. Today we find taxpayers chafing under the burden. There is among certain classes a clamor for still lower standards of relief. There is further danger that work relief wages will undermine the usage level throughout wide strata of American workers. Evidence of this tendency is not wanting. Unless consciously combatted, it will result in a still greater lowering of the general standard of life among the masses of our people.

But now the imperative question is: what can we social workers do about it?

If our confusion is to resolve itself into a program of action, we must begin by realizing the obvious fact that the social welfare machinery of individual states and communities was not designed, even by the widest stretch of the imagination, to cope with unprecedented crises of such national and international scope.

We must recognize that the fundamental problems of the present emergency are the province of a national reconstruction policy of economic co-ordination and planning.

From this it follows—and this is our point of departure as social workers—that the states, while bending every effort to meet the immediate situation, should not permit the stress of emergency relief to disrupt and dominate the whole social welfare program of the future.

With this perspective, and within the general framework of national reconstruction, every state must reorganize its Department of Social Welfare, first, in the light of a new social philosophy of state responsibility; second, with a concrete program of social legislation



against disease, poverty, insecurity, and social maladjustment; and third, with a working plan for recruiting and training an adequate personnel to make effective the new relationships of the state to its people.

Working with actual social data secured by competent research workers, a well-organized and amply-staffed department must have the virility and flexibility to meet the needs of an expanding social order. The tendency to depend solely on established temporary machinery to distribute relief must be avoided. Wise social organization can be effected through the expansion of existing machinery rather than the creation of new and temporary commissions. These, while justifiable a few years ago, have already lost their significance. Also, we must reconsider the provision of special relief to special classes—a practice that followed propaganda rather than social planning—and by concentrating on the total problem, develop a social welfare program that will preserve the integrity of all service features.

The official state body must realize that it has a duty not only to present reliable social data to the citizenry but it must also be the instrument for quickening the social conscience in order that social action may not only be achieved but sustained. Knowledge must heal the wounds which knowledge has created. Before long we shall be as ashamed of social illiteracy as we are now of individual illiteracy. Plainly, then, such a mission becomes the duty of a State Department of Social Welfare.

The historic necessity of this reorganization, and its manifold implications, can be more concretely understood from an examination of the broad general currents of social welfare history. We discover:

1. A gradual shift in emphasis from private to public enterprise in certain forms of social work.
2. A persistent drift from chaotic individual activities toward co-operation and centralization.
3. A growth from indiscriminate mass treatment toward scientific classification, segregation, and individualization of treatment.
4. A shift of emphasis from custody of dependents, to cure and finally to prevention of dependency, accompanied by a change from indoor to outdoor relief.

5. A consciousness on the part of both public and private social workers that the grounds of poverty and resultant maladjustment are not to be found in individual or emotional causes but primarily in socio-economic causes. The problems arise out of the Social Order itself.

6. A conscious realignment in both the public and private fields of social work in order that a more efficient and comprehensive co-operative enterprise may be established. Considered opinion does not point to the absorption of social work by public bodies, but rather to a strong co-operative movement.

Let us look into the objective events governing these trends. I will devote considerable attention to developments in New York State, because New York displays, as few other states do, the full gamut of social welfare trends.

In the later colonial period, charity was dispensed by private and public agencies, meagerly, and with the stigma of pauperism rubbed in. The earliest cautious approach toward state relief occurred in 1778. During the Revolutionary War the New York State legislature appropriated funds for the relief of refugees fleeing the invasions of British troops under General Burgoyne. This, however, was an emergency measure, merely indicating what force the pressure of events may exert on state policy. There was as yet no social welfare movement.

New York State early in the nineteenth century was a commonwealth dominated by small freeholders and merchants; and those who could not make a go of it were considered a blot and a drag upon the community. In 1832 a committee inquiring into the "expediency of publishing in a pamphlet the poor laws" of the State, declared that "in reviewing the statistics of our poorhouses, we are met by the proof that at least three quarters of poverty is voluntary; that it is the crime and not the misfortune of the pauper." The indigent were stowed away in city, town, or country poorhouses, indiscriminately, the sick with the insane, the aged with the infant; drunkards, criminals, and epileptics alike.

At first, practically the only classification consisted of a segregation of the sexes, which, to judge by reports of investigators, was often only theoretically observed. Soon, however, New York State established its first institutions for the segregation and treatment of

certain classes of dependents, such as the insane and juvenile delinquents. In 1823 the legislature had ordered the first state-wide survey of poor relief methods. From then on the state took increasing interest in the administration of relief, but the progress of classification was slow.

Meanwhile, private charity was maintaining a dominant rôle, aided in some cases by public subsidies.

Then came the Civil War. In the train of this national crisis, followed as usual a swarm of ills: orphans and widows, disabled and uprooted. The poorhouses became crowded. Under the force of circumstances the state had to contribute larger and larger subsidies to private institutions. The extent of the state's participation in welfare activities had now grown to such proportions that the need for a state supervisory body was acutely evident. This condition formed perhaps the major factor in the establishment of the State Board of Charities, which represents the first decisive step of the state toward assuming a permanent functional rôle in the general welfare program. New York, following the lead of Massachusetts, established its Board in 1867. It is significant to note that such bodies had their origin in a desire to achieve economies and to reassure the public that its funds were efficiently administered, both in private and in public institutions. With this action, the state advanced from its previous position in social welfare as a largely irresponsible subsidizing body to one where it recognized at least an inspectional and supervisory duty. As yet, however, it cautiously resisted the assumption of any sizable degree of control. As a result of the newly formed board came an improvement of standards, expressed at first in better constructed buildings, in better sanitary provisions, and in improved classification. Among the first important achievements of the New York body was the passage, in 1875, of a law prohibiting the retention of children between two and sixteen years of age in the public almshouse.

During the succeeding quarter of a century our industrial system grew with increasing momentum, further advancing the change from a simple agricultural and handicraft economy toward a more complex, more collective society. Throughout this period, however, and for a long time afterwards, the old ideals of individual opportu-

nity and individual responsibility remained with decreasing justification inrooted in our ideology.

From this deep gulf between our social philosophy and our actual social status, there arose a series of unadjustments in our national life. Despite the tendency on the part of our social mechanism to lag behind the material forces, however, some strides were made in social welfare during this period, particularly in the classification of dependents. The poorhouse had been, up to that time, the catch-basin into which all classes in need of relief were thrown. The first successful assault on this lack of discrimination culminated in the Child Aid Act of 1875, previously mentioned, to safeguard children from the degrading atmosphere of the poorhouse. Next followed a wholesale exodus of other groups from the almshouse; the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic. In this connection you will observe the vital relationship between overcrowding in institutions and progress in classification. A unit, such as an all-embracing almshouse, is expanded to the bursting point, and is then split up into its component parts. This movement away from indiscriminate herding toward classification and segregation was profoundly significant, inasmuch as it coincided with the adoption by the state of a new curative attitude toward its wards, to replace the former custodial attitude. A further step forward was made in 1894, when the State of New York undertook complete responsibility for the care of the insane, guaranteeing to them a degree of uniformity in treatment impossible under the system of local care.

The years from 1900 to 1915 might be called the "golden age of reformism" in our social life. A remarkable group of reformers appeared, who, without fully understanding the causes, sensed the deep-rooted evils of a society in transition. Looking about them, they saw the effects of a grossly unbalanced distribution of wealth. They cried out particularly against the slum, that dark, disease-breeding by-product of our planless industrial centers; and their voices were not entirely lost in the wilderness.

With the turn of the century, new tendencies in social welfare, both public and private, appeared and took on concrete form. Curative aspects were developed to a higher degree of effectiveness. Classification began to take on a scientific character. The colony

plan was given wider application, extending to many types of institutions which were converted from custodial asylums to hospitals designed for therapeutic treatment. On the other hand, non-institutional care was extended, especially for dependent children. Social workers stressed the virtues of boarding children out wherever possible. In this matter the state was naturally greatly concerned. The first warnings against an unsupervised system of placing out having already been sounded, the state responded with a law establishing a routine of inspection and supervision later extended and perfected. More important, however, were significant strides toward a preventive program, finding expression in social legislation covering workmen's compensation, restrictions on child labor, regulations on hours and conditions of work, better housing, compulsory education, vocational guidance; and in the mental hygiene, anti-tuberculosis, and settlement house movements, all essentially preventive in character. Another aspect of this trend revealed itself in the establishment of children's courts.

Child welfare was by now gradually assuming a dominant position in the general welfare work of the state. It was natural, therefore, that the first great step of New York State toward social insurance should center about the child. This movement crystallized in the Child Welfare Act of 1915, which, following similar laws in Illinois and Wisconsin, established Boards of Child Welfare in the state for the purpose of distributing mothers' allowances. It must be noted that the path for these acts was cleared in a large measure by the historic first White House Conference on Child Welfare in 1909, which did much to enlighten public opinion, always an important factor in social progress. The Child Welfare Act marked for New York State an important departure in social welfare theory. It advanced the principle that the state had a responsibility in keeping the home intact and in providing for the dependent child a natural environment free from stigma or reproach. It was a partial recognition by the state that it must set itself to remedy the initial inequalities which a faulty social structure imposes. Incidentally, it marked a milestone on the trend from indoor to outdoor relief.

The years following witnessed gigantic progress in the better organization of social welfare, marked by future economy of effort

through co-ordination and consolidation of agencies, the development of case work, and the rapid growth in application of psychiatry. Of prime importance was the somewhat startled—and I might say reluctant—recognition of the vital relationship between socioeconomic forces and the field of social work. Also, in conjunction with the development of the scientific approach, there were established higher standards of social welfare, lifting it to a new plane of professional dignity.

Along with this realization, significantly enough, came a very pronounced shift in emphasis from remedial to preventive work. In this process, the state of course played an important rôle. By the logic of events it had been gradually assuming in practice the responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. Having once accepted this responsibility, it was then compelled to realize not only the injustice, but the economic fallacy of a haphazard doctoring of large masses of people pinched into acute distress between conflicting forces within the social mechanism. Would it not be better, we asked ourselves, to heal the inner lesions which caused these running sores? So we turned our attention to checking the poison of maladjustment at the wellspring. This orientation has directed us to the most potentially fruitful field of operation we have thus far entered into. I refer to the field of constructive social legislation. In this field we have only just begun to scratch the surface. We have done something—not much, but something—in the way of solving the problem of old age dependency; and a little more in the way of child aid laws. It is worth noting here that preventive social legislation has taken its initial strides for the aged and the child, normally our two most needy groups.

This brings us to the outstanding trend of the century: the vast expansion of state activities in social welfare work, a trend that had already begun and was advancing at an accelerated pace even before the depression set in. In New York a series of reorganizations involving functional changes in the Board of Charities culminated in constituting this body in 1929 as the Department of Social Welfare. The Public Welfare Law, enacted the same year, brought about sweeping changes in the concepts and practices of public welfare administration in the state. Inherent in it was the official acceptance

of responsibility on the part of the state for large-scale maladjustments and dislocations in the life of the community. It carried, likewise, a final repudiation of the stigma heretofore attached to dependency. In the very titles of the new department and the new law there was an implicit scrapping of the old condescending spirit behind "charity." Social welfare was henceforth to be conceived of in terms of scientific, not sentimental, treatment of human and social behavior.

Then came the depression. The sorry consequences need not be repeated. Standards that had been built up carefully were swept aside, and hastily erected temporary emergency set-ups brought with them grave dangers, several of which I have already noted. We social workers cannot say we were not forewarned; in all honesty we must shoulder our part of the blame for the failure of our permanent apparatus to prepare successfully for the emergency that was sure to arrive. And now, though we must recognize the need that brought into being the emergency relief apparatus, we must not be blinded to the possible retrogression it carries in its wake.

At first, when unemployment became serious, citizens' committees were set up with a haphazard plan of relief. They soon found themselves hopelessly swamped. The Gibson Committee of New York, perhaps the most ambitious private relief project ever set up in the United States, has likewise been compelled to call for aid. Municipal relief bureaus next stepped into the breach. They too, in many instances, have failed. Then the State of New York in 1931 appropriated \$20,000,000 to be distributed in 40 per cent refunds through the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration; in 1932 an additional \$30,000,000 bond issue was approved by the voters; and in the fall of 1933 the electorate will be asked to approve a new bond issue of \$60,000,000. In addition to these state funds, New York has been in receipt of an average of \$6,500,000 per month since February, 1933.

The experience of New York is only indicative of that of other states, and it is precisely because of the failure of these lesser measures that we now face a new national program. As we all know, R. F. C. funds have been spread widely to meet acute emergency conditions. The federal government proposes an appropriation of



\$3,300,000,000 for public works and \$500,000,000 for direct relief to the states.

But looking beyond the emergency relief services, what has been the social welfare situation? The inability of private agencies to cope with the economic crisis has not merely affected family welfare. Reports from such organizations as the Child Welfare League of America clearly demonstrate the fact that agencies all over the country have been restricting their service for children solely as the result of compulsion in dealing with the unemployment situation or restriction of the agency's funds. As a result, public agencies have been increasing their case loads in the several social fields in order to compensate for the limitations of private endeavor.

In spite of the noticeable effect upon case work standards, many communities have attempted, some successfully, to hold the line. In the State of New York, for example, a very definite effort has been made in this direction in the fields of child welfare, hospital care, family relief, care of the aged, treatment of delinquents, and other fields.

Noteworthy in New York State is the work of the Research Bureau in its monthly reporting systems, which have brought to light variations in policy and procedure in the local communities, to enable the public departments to direct their energy toward building up standards which tended to break. Such reporting also enables us to assist in developing a sense of local responsibility in the communities and make for co-ordinated effort among the public and private agencies.

The principal loss, however, has been found in decreased revenues, which have necessitated the balancing of budgets in both public and private agencies. Institutional personnel facilities have not kept pace with the increasing volume of service. Differentiation in function has been largely disappearing, due to unemployment and emergency relief measures in all parts of the country. No one can fail to recognize the tendency in the field of mothers' allowances and in the administration of the old age security act to decrease both the case loads and the allowances. Many families have been transferred by counties to home relief agencies so that reimbursements by the state may be obtained. Decreases in local and state appropriations have

affected these two activities in a marked degree. While it is true that some of this rebudgeting has been offset by the lowered cost of living, it is also equally true that the necessity for balancing budgets has affected standards of child welfare, health, and other forms of social service.

This picture of the social welfare situation brings us face to face with the danger of the crisis. Above all we must get away from the despotic influence of an all-persuading material relief program. The provision of emergency relief, however necessary, compelling and fundamental, is but one aspect of the state's social program of the future, and should by no means remain the all-dominant factor it is today.

Communities are short-sighted, in our opinion, when they tend to reconstruct the social welfare machinery on the basis of an emergency. It will be found, as this emergency passes, that in a great many sections of the country the permanent welfare machinery has been weakened and in some cases altered for something worse. Emergency measures are but additional projects, and wise administration makes this distinction and insists upon well-rounded welfare programs for each community in both public and private endeavor.

What then is the basis for the reorganization of a State Department of Social Welfare and the development of a comprehensive program?

First of all, the reorganization must be in line with the new philosophy of collective responsibility which motivates our national reconstruction policy—a philosophy that responds to the cruel lessons taught by the breakdown of a highly interdependent society which sought to run itself on principles of anarchic individualism. It is foolish to play ostrich any longer. The world we live in today is not the world of our fathers; and unless we seek to determine the nature of that world, what its afflictions arise from, and how they can be cured, then all our efforts will be of no more value than pasting a court-plaster on a cancer. The care of all is the concern of all, and our activities must be so ordered as to promote the general social welfare.

Second, and more concretely, the public welfare worker must lead the drive for necessary social legislation and organization in every

state. Under the pressure of immediate necessity, we must secure legislation providing insurance in the fields of industry, health, and old age, as well as a federal system of unemployment bureaus capable of reorienting and readjusting large masses of workers. It must be our aim gradually to weave into the fabric of our society a complete set of guarantees against the periodic economic paralysis inherent in modern society and which, honestly, we can no longer call merely "emergencies" if the same irresponsible business set-up persists. This calls for a practical administrative reorganization in cooperation with existing private and public agencies, so that the state will be assured of a modern and well-rounded social service in family welfare, child care, medical aid, prevention of delinquency, old age, etc.

Third, but still of prime importance, is the problem of recruiting and training an adequate personnel for the new welfare program. The present inadequacies in this respect are baffling to a degree that is almost overwhelming. There is a ray of hope in the fact that so many of the emergency set-ups have recruited workers from the field of private social work who may provide for the future a skeleton organization upon which to build. But not until our local public bodies realize the need for an adequately trained personnel can we make much progress in this direction. As a principle, no real reason exists for the employment of inadequate staffs, and we must insist, at all times, that the standard of social service rendered by a public department must ultimately equal the highest standards achieved by private agencies. This means provision for a training service which not only will serve the beginner, but allows for the combined development of the entire body of workers. For mental growth is an incumbent upon the executive as it is upon the youngest and newest staff member.

The most effective instrument of this threefold program must be knowledge, and public opinion created by its dissemination. Our state research bureaus must devote themselves to making a comprehensive scientific study of social behavior and social welfare. Any long-term planning, any far-looking preventive program is inconceivable without complete statistical data concerning our population, its mode of life, and its needs. Although splendid statistical

studies have been made, they have heretofore lacked comprehensiveness and co-ordination. A three-year demonstration project of the Bureau of Research of the New York State Department of Social Welfare, now well under way, represents the first attempt at a statewide development of statistical data on all phases in the social welfare field. These studies must be kept to as high a scientific level as is humanly possible today. It would be as fatuous to build a social welfare program without this knowledge as to build a skyscraper or a bridge on vague general notions.

But the data thus obtained and their significance must be constantly and intelligently presented to the general citizenry so there will be no cultural lag behind social trends. Through every avenue of public opinion, the newspaper, magazine, radio, school, and lecture hall, we must disseminate these facts and tell what they mean. For knowledge is not enough; knowledge must be followed by action. And before we can put these new plans into action, we must win favorable public opinion.

Such a program as I have sketched would make of social welfare an integral function of the state. What form should this function take? Should all the functions of public welfare administration be fulfilled by one department—as it is in several states—or should these functions be distributed among specialized bodies? It is my personal opinion that a sound solution of this question lies in the division of the burden among several departments. The possible losses involved in such separation can be offset by a co-ordinated planning body, carrying on educational propaganda in common, and acting as a council directly responsible to the governor, and consisting of the directors of the several units. This arrangement, while having the desirable checks and balances, will be stimulating to the various divisions.

It may be argued that the principles embodied herewith are impractical because the emergency is so extensive and so far reaching, that every resource of the community must be marshaled in the interest of immediate relief. The answer, which I trust has been emphasized in this paper, is that wise social planning by the states, within the general framework of a national reconstruction policy,

does not divert our energies from the immediate situation, but keeps it in proper relation to the entire program of public welfare.

It is obvious that during this depression we are being constantly forced to readapt our methods and machinery. It must be clear to all that the normal social work technique and programs of 1928 will not suffice as the measure of social service activity of the future. Measures conceived in 1930 even, no longer possess the characteristics which marked their creation. We have settled down to a long battle with economic insufficiency. While this battle is not yet over, we do know that we have by this time definitely determined the means and methods which will prevail for many years to come. This is why it is so important that we shall bring the total social machinery of a state into a co-ordinated whole, and that we cannot afford to jeopardize the entire program of public welfare for an overemphasis of one aspect.

The fact is that all of us, as individuals or communities, are called upon to readjust ourselves to new relationships with society. There must be a greater sense of mutuality. Otherwise, it is inevitable that we shall again revert to an indefinite, planless public welfare program. The states have entered into a new relationship with social unadjustment. Just as the Elizabethan Poor Law marked a new epoch in which the state assumed a permanent relationship with dependency, so has this depression again intensified the relationship and responsibility of the state toward the perpetuation of the commonwealth.

Because of this, we must dedicate ourselves to a more exacting service from our intelligence, and public welfare must reach up to higher and more daring conceptions of service.

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NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE  
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## FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS IN *RE* PUBLIC WELFARE<sup>1</sup>

THE relationships between the federal, state, and local governments in the field of public welfare are both functional and financial. There has been a clear line of demarcation in the allocation of welfare functions and in the responsibility for these activities. By tradition, welfare activities have been primarily the function of local governments since the public has undertaken to supplement the work of religious and private philanthropic institutions. The state gradually assumed the burden of the institutional care of the unfortunate, confining its activities largely to the care of defectives and the incarceration of criminals. The financial burdens have been assumed by each government as the costs of performing its functions required. Here, too, the bulk of the load has been carried by local governments.

In considering governmental relationships in regard to public welfare, attention will be limited primarily to the relief of destitution—now the major problem confronting American governments. For convenience in analysis, the relationships pertaining roughly up to the year 1930 will be first considered. Since that time the relief problem appears to have changed, although the only change may be in the attitude of the public.

Up to 1930 welfare work for the relief of destitution was carried on primarily by local governments. The work was shared by these units with religious bodies, private philanthropic institutions, and charitably inclined individuals. It was undertaken, or existed, for the direct benefit of a small proportion of the population—victims of adversity who generally had some mental or physical defect, congenital or otherwise, which was supposed to account for their being poor. These persons were invidiously denominated “paupers” and were considered a disgrace to the community. The primary reason the

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the joint meeting of the American Public Welfare Association with Division IX (Administration of Public Social Work) of the National Conference of Social Work, Detroit, June 16, 1933.

local governments took care of them was to get them out of the way and out of the sight of the more fortunate. The relief of destitution consisted essentially, therefore, of relieving the balance of the community of consciousness as to its pauper citizens.

The care of these "unfortunates" involved a relatively small financial outlay. The almshouse was the primary institution, providing miserably for their care, and as an institution was generally partially self-supporting. Outdoor relief provided by local governments was negligible in amount compared with expenditures on other functions and, perhaps, compared to absolute needs. The relief work, such as it was, was characterized, in most counties, by the absence of organized relief methods, by inadequate and untrained personnel, and by little or no supervision of staff or of "clients." In general, there was no co-ordination of the machinery or forms of relief in most counties; the duplication of bounties was a recurring phenomenon.

In spite of these conditions, there was little attempt to centralize governmental social service responsibility. The public functions were scattered among townships, parishes, burroughs, towns, cities, villages, counties, and other units of governments. There were notable exceptions, such as in New York, North Carolina, and Virginia, where the county was made the unit of welfare administration. The typical administrative set-up and functional responsibility were developed in an agricultural age for a population tied to the soil, little dependent on other communities for the interchange of goods or services. At the time public welfare systems were being developed in this country, the interests of the population were primarily local. Trade was local as well; the social and political problems of the communities, too, were centered largely around the town or village hall. The public welfare system developed in the United States was taken over almost bodily from England and was based on the worst phases of the poor laws of 1603.

State governments gradually assumed the burden of private institutional relief. This unit did little for the paupers, who were to blame because they were poor and who, if entitled to consideration at all, were to receive assistance from their neighbors. The state, however, was willing to assume the obligation of the care of the de-



fectives. This burden was assumed probably, first of all, because it was more economical for the state to provide institutional relief than for each county to do it. Also because only by segregating the defectives in special institutions could the population be adequately protected from contamination. Unless the state provided these institutions they would be lacking in many counties and jails would be used instead. Consequently, the state established hospitals, asylums, villages for epileptics, etc., but ran these institutions on the same principles as it ran its prisons, frequently under the direction of the same boards. Some of these institutions have a long and creditable history. The first state hospital for the insane was established in 1769. State welfare departments, however, were slow in developing and first made their appearance about 1850. These departments, in many cases, were run by political or lay boards. There was little professional administration, little co-ordination of relief in the state, and little supervision over the local agencies. Generally there was no attempt to equalize the services performed or to require conformity to minimum state standards. In a few instances, however, state appropriations were made to pay the costs of local administration or to make possible a more nearly uniform standard of service such as, for example, state-wide provision for mothers' aid.

In terms of amounts the state spent considerable sums of money on this sort of welfare work. Little of it probably was devoted to the relief of destitution and practically no figures are available as to the precise amounts so spent. Statistics of welfare expenditures have been collected *en masse* with few segregations to take account of the nature or character of expenditures. Nevertheless the aggregates are of interest. In 1915, for example, the states expended for charities, hospitals, and correctional institutions in excess of \$89,000,000, or \$0.91 per capita. By 1930 the amount had increased to approximately \$224,000,000, or \$1.83 per capita.<sup>2</sup> However, relative to the total expenditures of government, the aggregate expenditures of the state on charities, hospitals, and corrections were relatively smaller in 1930 than in 1915. In 1915 these welfare expenditures represented 23.5 per cent of the total governmental cost payments; in 1930 they constituted but 16.1 per cent of the total.<sup>3</sup> These expenditures, of

<sup>2</sup> See *Financial Statistics of States, 1930*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

course, were made in a period when the relief of destitution was not the acute problem that it is today.

In order to complete the picture, it should be said that the states have to date done very little to remove the causes of destitution, save as the issue has been indirectly met through the expansion of public health, sanitation, or educational activities. These, of course, seek a solution of the problem largely on the physical side. On the economic side, where the problem has been really acute, the progress of social legislation has been slow. Old-age pensions, sick benefits, and unemployment insurance have made little headway. Child labor legislation and shorter hours for women, and even general minimum wage legislation, have not been adopted by many states. Workmen's compensation acts came slowly and their administration in many spots is a scandal. Perhaps this lack of development has been due to the abundance of wealth and economic opportunities found within the country, or to the quantity of free land, or to the reign of individualism and lack of social control of business profits. Part of the blame should rest, of course, upon a political system not suited to an industrial age. Government has been dominated by farmers possessing little apprehension of urban or industrial problems; governmental activities have been controlled largely by ancient and outworn state constitutions, written for a rustic era. In keeping with this background the typical American attitude toward the relief problem seems to be summarized by the statement, "The unemployed should shift for themselves." It fails to answer the question, however, "Where shall the unemployed go?" And having gone, "How will they shift?"

In the period before 1930 the federal government itself did practically nothing in the field of public welfare. It did render assistance in times of disasters and floods, earthquakes or other emergencies, but did so wherever possible through the instrumentality of the American Red Cross, a private institution, for which it assumed no direct responsibility. As a government, it avoided as frequently as possible the assumption of direct governmental burdens or obligations, even for the relief of emergencies. Of course, through the establishment of the Children's Bureau, or the Department of Labor, or the United States Public Health Service, the national govern-

ment has made indirect contributions to the relief of destitution, as well as the promotion of social and economic welfare. Likewise, it has made indirect contributions to relief needs by pensioning its military casualties and paying its "debts" to a political machine of war veterans. The appellation "G.O.P." has come to mean "Grant Our Pensions," a cry which the government has all too readily heard and heeded. It must be said, however, that the United States has also provided retirement pensions for its civil service employees. Nevertheless, prior to 1930 it granted no direct subventions for the relief of destitution. Its nearest approach was in the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, designed for the promotion of the welfare and health of mothers and infants. Indirectly some relief may have been provided in grants for vocational education and civil rehabilitation promoted by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 and the Fess-Kenyon Act of 1920. The Smith-Lever Act of 1924 providing for agricultural extension may be similarly classified.

There has been a modicum of social legislation by the federal government. Once it sought to protect its population against outrages from the sale of impure foods and drugs, but in its efforts to promote trade and commerce that act has now become feeble of administration, unless very recent changes have been effected. The federal government, through its taxing power, stopped diseases connected with the manufacture of white phosphorus matches. It has curtailed interstate white slave traffic, but after two attempts has not been able to abate child labor nor achieve shorter working hours for women. It must be said to its credit, however, that it has regulated certain social evils connected with bootlegging through income tax prosecutions. On the other hand, it has done little to remove the causes of private destitution created by the present age of private industrialism. Its failures duplicate and amplify those of the states.

The financial relationships in the welfare field differ but little from the functional relationships just discussed. Up to 1930 each government carried its own load with an overlapping of functional responsibility between state and local governments. Typically townships, villages, and, to some extent, the counties assumed the cost of outdoor relief. The counties generally provided the poor farms, almshouses, along with orphanages, homes for the aged, and the jails.

The state carried the institutional load, with provision in a few cases for equalization funds for local relief. The United States government, which did practically nothing, promoted the general welfare by the erection of tariff barriers, the building of battleships, and the expansion of pensions. The amounts expended on relief up to 1930 were quite moderate. No data are available for determining the expenditures of townships, counties, and minor units. The state expenditures have already been observed.<sup>4</sup> Cities of over 30,000 inhabitants, however, spent \$18,000,000 on charities, hospitals, and corrections in 1903, and \$138,000,000 in 1930.<sup>5</sup> On a per capita basis these expenditures increased from \$0.86 in 1903 to \$3.12 in 1930.<sup>6</sup> These outlays constituted 6.5 per cent of the total governmental cost payments in 1903; 6.4 per cent in 1929, and 7 per cent in 1930.<sup>6</sup> State subventions were few but the exceptions stood out in noticeable contrast. The states of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, for example, by their contributions assisted the localities in improving the welfare of mothers and children. In the aggregate, however, the financial problem was relatively small. The burden which it placed even on the existing inelastic and poorly constructed revenue systems was not great. In the period before 1930 there was little anticipation that the financial problems incident to public welfare administration would greatly increase, nor was much consideration given to the necessity of hedging against a great increase in future costs by the adoption of insurance devices, such as coverage against unemployment.

While the functional and financial relationships in the field of public welfare were becoming fixed and inflexible, the nature of the economic and social life in the United States was changing. We had shifted from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation. Small-scale industry had given way to large-scale production. The country had changed from a nation of entrepreneurs to a nation of wage-earners dependent upon the vicissitudes of industry for their daily bread. In the factories the relationships between employer and employee were no longer personal. Men were hired and fired to suit the necessities or whims of the boss, who acted as though he were ultimately responsible only to unknown absentee owners. Labor had been forced

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*.

<sup>5</sup> See *Financial Statistics of Cities, 1930*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*.

to turn from the mastery of skilled trades to become machine operators. The division of tasks in the operation of automatic and semi-automatic machines became so small that few skilled trades were left, and such skill as was involved could be easily imparted to green employees. Jobs at the side of endless belts replaced the bench of the skilled tradesman. Thus, the working population became more and more dependent on the fortunes of a machine-made industrial system. Geographical specialization came side by side with trade specialization. The localization of industry was facilitated by the development of good transportation and communication facilities. Through the territorial interchange of goods and services localities were knit economically into a nation. Social interests broadened with the national circulation of newspapers, magazines, and the appearance of the radio. These, assisted by the rural free delivery service, carried urban cultures to the farm. The opportunities of the city and the development of mechanized agriculture gave impetus to the drift of population to the city. Gradually the country ceased even culturally and socially to have a provincial outlook. It became more of a nation than ever before. Politically, however, the United States has remained essentially local in its interests and machinery of government. State boundaries are seldom crossed in political thinking, and even urban metropoli are unable to assume extra-territorial jurisdiction in order to control the activities in their environs. Counties and municipalities carry on much as they did in the agricultural age, meeting few of the problems wrought by these far-reaching economic and social changes.

With the collapse of industry in 1930 following the end of the speculative debacle of 1929, the consequences of these vast changes have begun slowly to dawn. Industrially, the United States is a unit. Anything which affects one area is the vital concern of another. Few problems touching one state can be solved by anything except unified national action. It is now realized that the problem of relief is not one for private philanthropy; that the localities alone are unable to carry this load; that the problem financially and otherwise is too big for the separate states to handle. We now ask, "How much interest has the federal government in the solution of this problem?"

The relief of destitution from an economic, social, or fiscal point

of view is essentially a national problem. The emergency created by the latest industrial cataclysm is more than country-wide in extent. So far as this nation alone is concerned, its roots lie in the national character of our commercial and industrial system. The depression has affected every corner of our vast empire. In order to meet the human needs created by this emergency, the United States government must carry a substantial and, perhaps, an increasing portion of the financial load, not only because state and local governments cannot do it, but because the federal government can do it more efficiently and more economically. Likewise, it can more equitably finance the undertaking.

The municipal governments, in spite of the concentration of wealth and income within their territories, cannot effectively tap these resources with the revenue systems at their command. Their primary source of revenue is the general property tax. In 1930, 63.8 per cent of the revenue receipts of the cities of over 30,000 inhabitants came from this tax.<sup>7</sup> In the 146 cities for which comparative data are available since 1903, general property taxes furnished on the average 65.9 per cent of the revenue receipts, as compared with 61.4 per cent in 1903. In these cities the per capita general property tax burden had increased from \$12.98 in 1903 to \$48.34 in 1930. In at least 19 cities of over 30,000 inhabitants, 80 per cent of the revenues come from the property tax. Not only will great resistance be encountered in increasing levies upon property for relief or other purposes, but in many respects such increases are to be avoided during periods of economic depression. These taxes levied on capital values produce an increase in overhead charges as business declines. Such burdens, like fixed interest costs, weigh heavily upon industry as it seeks to find its way out of the depression. From an economic point of view, as well as from the standpoint of practical politics, further increases in the general property tax at this time should be avoided.

In many cases it is not a question of avoiding further increases. Tax rate limitation laws prevent many governments from increasing their property tax levies at this time regardless of their desire to meet the emergency. In at least eleven states constitutional limitations on city tax rates are in force. In a score of states county tax

<sup>7</sup> Data taken from *Financial Statistics of Cities, 1930*.

rates are similarly limited. How many statutory limits on municipal tax levies are in existence, no one knows. In addition, limitations on city revenues are found in charters and administrative rulings. Thus, the local governments are hemmed in by restrictions as to the amount of taxes which may be levied, the purposes for which they may be levied, and the objects upon which taxes may be imposed. Consequently, the municipalities desire to supplement their existing sources of revenue by the development of new sources of taxation. These, in turn, cannot be developed without the co-operation of the state. Even if the states grant fairly complete power to the local governments to supplement their existing revenues by the adoption of income and sales taxes, from which substantial revenues might be derived, local units are limited by obvious administrative difficulties. Municipal income taxes cannot be successfully administered without incurring the risk of a movement of population, perhaps industry, from the city. As a change of residence or location of business is all that is necessary to avoid such taxes their productivity may be drastically limited. The problem is not solved, either, by making the county the unit of administration. In many cases even state boundaries are too small for the effective taxation of income and wealth. Likewise, if local governments attempt to tax sales or the receipts from business, dealings in interstate commerce are found to be beyond their reach; trade as well may be diverted from within their territorial boundaries. The use of informational returns so necessary for the effective execution of these taxes can only have limited application so long as the taxes are levied by local governments. There is little hope, therefore, that the cities can substantially supplement their present sources of revenue without the use of state or federal administration and the sharing of tax revenues by these larger governments.

Perhaps the proper thing for local governments to do is to finance the emergency needs by resort to public borrowing. In many instances individual cities have already borrowed more than they may be able to repay in the near future. Other communities complain because there is no market for municipal securities. This market has been restricted because of recent banking difficulties, leaving these institutions in no position to act as fiscal agents for local govern-



ments. Some of these difficulties might be overcome if the local governments undertook the direct flotation of their own obligations, or if states undertook to assist them. Nevertheless, the possibilities of this course of action are not open to all local governments. Many cities lack authority to borrow money for the relief of destitution; others have had their borrowing capacity drastically limited by statutes or constitutions; still others have no borrowing capacity to utilize. In over half of the states, for example, the debt-incurring power of municipalities is restricted to small fractions of the total assessed valuation of property. In other cases the cities have been limited in incurring debts by a variety of statutory provisions which have specified the term of maturity, the type of loan, the period of redemption, the rate of interest, and other factors, all of which have afforded little freedom to the municipalities. Little wonder that many cities have looked to the states for support—all too many have waited in vain.

The states, in turn, have suffered from many of the same difficulties which have beset local governments. Numerous commonwealths have been attempting to collect taxes under archaic revenue systems imposed upon them by outworn constitutions inflicted by past generations. As economic conditions have changed, all too many states have achieved fame for the rottenness rather than the equity of their tax systems. Some have turned in desperation to the sales tax as a means of raising revenue. However productive of revenue these taxes may be, they are none the less open to other objections. They not only require the poor to pay for their own relief but fall upon people in proportion to their inability, rather than in relation to their ability to pay to support government. If they are not shifted to consumers or others they tend to increase the cost of doing business. In a depression this may be serious in its consequences. If the sales taxes are passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices they will tend to curtail the purchase of those products for which the demand happens to be elastic. This, of course, includes the majority of goods and service purchased by the consuming public. As a means of assisting the country out of the depression no worse tax policy could possibly be adopted. The unfortunate thing, of course, is that many states were forced to adopt these measures by the financial

policies of the late Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Others must plead their own mental and constitutional inabilities for their course of action.

More might be said for the adoption of luxury taxes or sales taxes on a few selected commodities, though such taxes do not conform to ideal fiscal principles. Liquor and malt taxes are sometimes regarded as promising sources of revenue. Cigarette and tobacco taxes have already been utilized by many states. It is a wonder that someone has not seized upon them as a solution in the present emergency, popularizing them through the slogan "Smoke out the depression." The major difficulty, perhaps, is that the revenue-productivity of these taxes is not great.

Many states, of course, do not need additional sources of revenue. Some could finance the emergency needs for relief from existing taxes if they but cared to adopt efficient administrative methods; others, and perhaps many of the same states, could meet the needs of the unemployed by the elimination of waste and graft. Neither of these courses of action, however desirable economically, appear for the moment to be practical politically. Additional receipts from these channels should therefore be dismissed as illusory. If the choice is between relief for the unemployed and patronage or spoils, the choice, unfortunately, in many states, is not a matter of doubt. This fact also makes the selection and development of additional revenues a difficult task.

In searching for additional revenues the resistance of taxpayers should not be overlooked. Their attitude precludes in large measure any attempt to expand property taxes and makes difficult the improvement of many general revenue systems. The conflict between opposing groups is an ever present obstacle to tax reform. Urban and rural interests frequently clash in the struggle to reform the property tax or to adopt income taxes; churches and schools are often arrayed against other interests in opposing the elimination of tax exemption; manufacturers and commercial bodies stand arrayed against other groups in the development of business taxation and in the removal of subsidies to industry.

If many of these obstacles were removed, state financing of the relief emergency would still be unsatisfactory. It is impossible to

get the various commonwealths to adopt uniform fiscal methods, principles, or policies of taxation. Each state is a law unto itself and has done very much as it pleased with its tax system, seldom considering the effects of its action on the welfare of its neighbors. In the scramble for revenues, practically everything within the jurisdiction of a state, regardless of its relationship to taxable capacity or benefit from public service, has been taxed. The complications, conflicts, and duplications found in state tax legislation are too numerous to mention. The only way in which uniform tax legislation can be secured for the entire country is through the development of an integrated tax system under the control of the federal government, with adequate provision for division of the revenues collected with state and local governments. Unless such a tax system is developed, the states will do as they have done in the past, tax without regard to sound fiscal principles or attempt to take advantage of each other by tax exemption and the differential treatment of favored economic groups. The methods of taxation developed by the states for financing relief will doubtless be subject to this sort of competition at the hands of many state governments. Moreover, it is impossible for states to secure effective administration of many taxes without relying heavily on the federal government. The possibilities of state income taxes are greatly limited if the sources of income extend beyond state boundaries. The existence of the federal income tax, along with provision for the sharing of tax information between the federal and local governments accounts, in part, for the success with which many state income taxes have been operated. But here, as in many other cases, success is attained at the cost of maintaining duplicate administrative systems. State sales taxes, too, are limited by the fact that states cannot tax the proceeds from interstate commerce and are limited in the selection of administrative devices under their control. Even taxes on gasoline and tobacco will be more effective under federal than state administration. It cannot be said that tax avoidance is eliminated by federal administration of these taxes, but certainly these difficulties are greatly minimized. Substantial gains in the interest of justice, efficiency, and economy may be realized by the development of an integrated revenue system with provision for division of tax receipts among the different governments. Under such a

system the burden of providing for the relief of destitution could be equitably distributed both among economic groups and geographical regions.

The plan just outlined contemplates, in large measure, the federal control and administration of the nation's fiscal system. Such a plan probably cannot be immediately realized; rather, it must be viewed as an ultimate goal. Nevertheless, in the present emergency substantial portions of the funds for the relief of destitution must continue to come from the federal government but not by way of loans. The national government has advanced over a billion dollars to the cause of relief but has restricted its assistance primarily to making loans. What is needed henceforth is the direct assumption of financial as well as moral responsibility for unemployment relief. Fortunately this appears to be the purpose of the new administration. This is essential as the limitations under which state and local governments may contribute financial aid have already been pointed out.

The question remains as to whether or not the relief of destitution should be made entirely a federal function. Should the United States government be called upon to carry the entire load?

A strong case may be made for allocating this work to the national government, considering the nature of our industrial system and the national character of this depression with its unemployment crisis. On the other hand, in the present emergency when there is so great dependence on state and local administration for the expenditure and supervision of relief funds, it is probably necessary in the interest of good administration to require contributions for relief from the state and local units. Unless these governments have a financial stake in the expenditure of relief moneys, maximum economy cannot be expected. The interest of these local agencies may wane unless a portion of the responsibility and a share in the financial burden is theirs. In the long run, however, the states cannot be expected to adopt uniform or equitable financial programs. The need for uniformity in relief programs, policies, and techniques, plus the need for uniform fiscal methods throughout the country, ultimately puts the problem again on the doorstep of the federal government, even though for administrative reasons contributions must be secured temporarily from other governmental subdivisions.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the state has its own charitable institutions, its welfare departments, its hospitals, and its prisons, the maintenance of which are necessary for a well-rounded relief program. Perhaps the states have developed sufficient interest properly to maintain them, but in any case some national co-ordination of activities should be effected. It is often asserted that local knowledge and interest are required for efficient outdoor relief. This may be granted, but nevertheless trained social workers and adequate record systems are more important than local autonomy. Many of these requisites cannot be secured unless existing relationships are changed. Perhaps it is too early for the states to vacate the welfare field—perhaps it is not desirable that they should do so—but certainly it is not too soon to develop a co-ordinated relief program for the nation. Ultimately we may favor a federal system, but in the present emergency an increase in federal grants and federal supervision are necessary. Recently our national government has moved in this direction. This tendency should be strengthened and extended.

Ultimately, however, the federal government must do something beyond providing for current relief. It must strike at the roots of the causes of the industrial cataclysms. It must attempt to stabilize the monetary and the price system. It must develop a program of unemployment insurance. It must develop also an intelligent system of government finance, which takes into account fluctuations in the business cycle, as long as they may be expected. It must learn that human beings who are deprived of a right to earn a living, through no fault of their own, are entitled to adequate relief regardless of the particular political unit or combination of governments required for the task. These objectives can only be attained by federal action.

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## WELFARE INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES AND THE DEPRESSION<sup>1</sup>

### STATE

IN THIS fourth year of the depression it is apparent that the enormous amount of unemployment now prevailing, with its resulting destitution, affects every phase of welfare activity and taxes to the utmost the resources of private and public relief agencies of every character. In the more recent period the burden of unemployment and poor relief has shifted in a very great measure to public officials, boards, and institutions.

During the past four years public outdoor relief has grown by leaps and bounds. Pennsylvania reports that about one-sixth of the population of that state are dependent upon emergency relief for the bare necessities of life. In Indiana approximately one-tenth of the people are receiving aid from the overseers of the poor and the cost since 1929 has doubled each year over the preceding year.

In the face of these greater demands local public revenue has declined and public credit has been exhausted. Taxpayers are demanding economy and the reduction of taxes, at the same time insisting that those in distress shall be aided in accordance with the accepted standards of American life and of welfare work. Because of these demands the public social agencies are seriously handicapped. Their problem has been further complicated by the fact that in many instances they have had neither proper organization nor adequate trained personnel to assume the great responsibility imposed upon them.

The demand for economy has had a far-reaching effect in many states. Local units of government are primarily dependent upon property tax for revenues. From 60 to 70 per cent of revenue receipts, depending upon the size of the municipality, are derived from

<sup>1</sup> Papers read at the joint session of the American Public Welfare Association with Division IX (Administration of Public Social Work) of the National Conference of Social Work, Detroit, June 17, 1933.

this source. Some states have attempted to scale down the tax rate for the primary purpose of relieving the small property owner.

In Indiana, the special session of the legislature in 1932 enacted a law limiting the tax rate to \$1.50. The regular session in 1933 amended that law by fixing \$1.50 as the limit in incorporated cities and towns, and \$1.00 outside the city limits. Coupled with this is the decline in assessed valuations of property. The result is a serious limitation of funds for all purposes, including outdoor relief and other welfare services.

The present law governing outdoor relief authorizes the overseers of the poor to render all necessary aid to their poor and draw upon the county treasury to meet their bills. The following year they levy a tax on their townships at a sufficient rate to reimburse the county treasury for the amount expended the previous year. The present tax-rate limitation precludes the use of this law in many communities, especially in the industrial centers where the relief load is heavy.

While provision was made in the new tax law for a board of review to consider whether emergencies existed requiring an increase in the rate, the demands for economy and tax reduction have generally prevailed and prevented increases above the legal limit. Provision was also made for issuing bonds for poor relief, but such bonds cannot be sold because there is no assurance that sufficient tax revenue will be raised to meet the interest and retirement of the bonds.

In the past year the several states have sought special methods of raising revenue for relief purposes. Funds have been secured through bond issues, diversion of special tax funds, and special taxes. With few exceptions all states have borrowed from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

As a result of the emergency relief and more especially of the money made available through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, state legislatures have provided temporary emergency relief set-ups. In California, Maryland, and Minnesota, relief is administered by existing welfare departments; in Wisconsin, by the state industrial board; and in Arizona and Nevada permanent departments have been organized where heretofore there have been no state welfare organizations. Mississippi has organized a state wel-



fare department without legislation and the plan is to make it permanent. In a number of states special emergency relief committees have been appointed by the governor. They vary considerably in character and organization.

In a number of states there is a working relation between these special committees and the state departments of welfare in administration or supervision of relief programs. Members of staffs have been loaned to the emergency committees.

The local administration of funds varies in the different states, but in general it is placed on a county unit basis, with some states using district organizations for supervision. The county organizations are of three kinds: county welfare boards or relief department, child welfare boards, or special emergency relief councils, or committees appointed by the state committee. In some states private relief agencies have been used. Policies for local sub-divisions and plans for relief are established by the state committee. Some of these committees have insisted on trained personnel, central registration, and other social welfare practices which have been more or less unfamiliar to many public relief agencies.

The governor of one state (New Hampshire) has stipulated from the first that communities benefiting from Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds must use trained welfare workers to investigate and aid applicants for assistance and that state has paid salaries and expenses of welfare workers of whom there has been one or more in each of the ten counties. Some states have adopted a system of grant-in-aid with able state supervision which has resulted in raising standards for local administration of relief.

In Indiana the overseers of the poor are untrained in social work. Only a few have had any staffs of assistants and they were inexperienced and untrained. There has been no adequate supervision. The result has been a wasting of funds. The legislature of 1933 enacted a law providing for the employment of investigators, one for each 200 families receiving aid. Their qualifications are prescribed by the state unemployment relief commission. The qualifications prescribed very nearly approach the present minimum requirements for admission to junior membership in the American Association of Social Workers. The commission is given rather broad powers over

relief officers and in time it is hoped that all the larger municipalities will have one or more trained workers.

Two developments in connection with public outdoor relief in Indiana are made-work and gardening projects, conducted by townships operating alone or in co-operation with private groups.

Purdue University, the state agricultural college, has assigned a member of its staff to the garden project, now in its third year. In 1931 barely a dozen communities and six industries in Indiana sponsored organized garden activities. The entire project last year represented more than 8,000 acres of organized relief gardens. Of this number, 30 were community relief gardens on 854 acres, operated by overseers of the poor, or by voluntary organizations with the overseers co-operating. Thirty-two gardens of 1,150 acres were sponsored by individual industries. There were more than 45,000 individual gardens in more than 50 communities on 6,000 acres of land. The state institutions co-operated by supplying three and a half million cabbage and tomato plants.

The food products were conservatively valued at \$2,000,000. This year the number of gardens has doubled and the acreage has increased fourfold. By preserving and storing the produce in commissariats the families were supplied with green and root vegetables during the winter months.

The community gardens were tilled by the unemployed, under supervision. This program has done much to stimulate self-help in the dependent group.

Work relief projects have been undertaken in all of the large centers of population. Public and private relief agencies generally have co-operated. Road-building, cleaning of small streams, clearing rivers of rubbish, park and parkway developments, clearing of woodland for fuel, and similar work has been done. Most of the work undertaken has been of the kind that would not have otherwise been done at public expense. In some communities a clearing house has been organized in which all relief agencies have co-operated. The relief in most instances has been given by the public overseers of the poor. All able-bodied men are being required to work a given number of days for relief orders. At present we know of no cash being paid to those employed on any made-work program.

Several communities have established commissaries. This can be done by the overseer in townships of certain size. In others they are privately organized and financed and the overseers issue food orders on the commissary which is conducted on a non-profit basis.

In several states the budgets of state welfare departments have been omitted or greatly reduced. Tennessee made no appropriation for its Division of Welfare and in Ohio the budget for 1933-1934 was slashed 45 per cent by the Department of Finance. To complicate the situation further, the partial appropriation provided only \$25,000 for a six-month period, while the expenditures of the department for the last fiscal year were \$313,482. The result has been that out of a staff of 61 persons, 18 were given indefinite leave of absence without pay and 28 were placed on staggered employment ranging from one-fifth to one-half time, which necessitated reduction of some services and suspension in others.

Legislation to abolish some departments of welfare or some of their functions was introduced in several states. Certain state social welfare divisions have been merged with other departments of state government, whose chief interest is in fiscal affairs.

All states report all building programs eliminated. Where states have been able in the past to build for future needs a cessation of their building program for a few years is not so serious. Few states, if any, are so fortunate. The admissions have increased, except in penal and correctional institutions, especially juvenile reformatories.

In some institutions there is a damming back of population which ordinarily could be released. Due to the economic distress affecting home conditions, many mental patients showing sufficient improvement to warrant furlough cannot be sent home. The scarcity of employment makes it difficult to release prisoners on parole. The result is that there are an ever increasing census and overcrowded institutions.

In Indiana the increase in the population of state hospitals for insane is at the rate of 1,500 patients in a decade. Our building program has not kept pace with this need. In normal times there has been some delay in prompt admission, and some hospitals have long waiting lists. The delay in the construction of new buildings for only a few years is serious. Many patients will suffer for want of care

or will be housed and treated in other institutions unequipped for such service.

The problem of the care of mental defectives is even more serious. Probably no state has made adequate provision for the care of all cases needing institutional treatment. The economic condition has increased the demand for the admission of the feeble-minded and epileptic. Families who in good times have been able and desirous of caring for their defective children are now so reduced in finances and living conditions that they seek relief from their burden.

In Indiana there is a long waiting list of applications for admission to institutions and the list is growing rapidly.

Reports from various states show a reduction of appropriations for operating expenses. There have been some reductions in staffs and services. A hope is expressed in many reports that the standards established will not be seriously affected. The work most likely to be curtailed is the extramural service which is most important in the cause of prevention. Traveling clinics, social service, probation, supervision of parolees, and similar activities are most likely to suffer, for the average legislator does not appreciate the value and importance of these services.

Reports from a number of states indicate that the work of state departments for child welfare has not been seriously affected. A report from New Jersey contains this significant statement:

In regard to the child welfare program, we note a very definite reduction in the number of commitments to the Board of Children's Guardians, which may be interpreted as being due to a disinclination on the part of the county authorities to place children under care for whom they must find funds to pay, either in mothers' pensions or in the boarding homes.

In many states the child welfare work and its financial support rest largely with the local community. Since the burden of taxation is largely local and it is there that the demand for economy is greatest, one is led to believe that the situation reported in New Jersey may exist in other states. However, a true picture of the effect of the depression on child welfare cannot be determined or measured without full knowledge of what is happening to children in the smaller governmental units of the state. Rhode Island reports that the load in children's homes has increased tremendously; that admissions

have far exceeded placements, with the result that they have more dependent children in institutions than in a good many years. In Indiana the ratio of dependent children upon public support to each 10,000 of general population increased from 16.7 in 1930 to 22.5 in 1932. Because of the tax situation in our state, local appropriations are less in many instances, and in no case are they sufficient to meet the increased problem.

The schools have suffered from the depression. There have been reductions in staffs, salaries have been severely cut, and school terms have been shortened to meet the decreased budgets.

We are advised that the state health program has been seriously affected in counties and local communities by reason of limited budgets. As an illustration some twenty or more counties have eliminated their county public health nurse. At least six additional counties are trying to carry out a county nursing service on a largely decreased budget and in some of these counties, at least, it will be impossible to continue this nursing service longer than a few months. Approximately fifty thousand school children and pre-school children were immunized against diphtheria in Indiana last year through immunization programs carried out in various counties. It is doubtful whether any program of this kind will be carried out on a county-wide basis this year.

For almost two decades, beginning before the United States entered the World War, there was a decided increase in migration from the country to the city. In the agricultural states there was an unusual number of unoccupied tenant houses. Farmers found it difficult to employ help. The drift is now from the city to the land. In one mining community in our state, good houses were purchased at a very nominal sum and moved to small tracts of land of from five to ten acres. The movement back to the farm carries with it some social problems and emphasizes the need for rural social work.

We have seen that the institutional service is suffering—appropriations reduced, population increasing, preventive programs practically dropped. Many public welfare services heretofore considered essential have been reduced to a minimum and in some instances entirely eliminated. Private welfare agencies, though best equipped from an administrative point of view to deal with the social problems

involved, have been handicapped by lack of support. The chief burden of relieving destitution has therefore fallen on the small political divisions, hundreds of them in every state, working as best they could under ancient laws, without knowledge of proper methods or the facilities to put them into effect had they known them. Is it too much to hope that out of the experiences of the past four years we shall be able to evolve a plan of social service which will be better prepared for emergencies? Doubtless all of you are familiar with the conclusions reached by the Conference on the Maintenance of Welfare Standards held in Chicago last November. The Committee on Administration recommended the adoption of certain principles which seem especially apropos to our discussion today, (1) that the major responsibility for relief of destitution rests with the government, (2) that the county is the smallest practical unit for public relief administration, (3) that public funds should be administered only by properly organized public agencies, and (4) that appropriations for relief should include funds for administration in order to insure proper standards of administration. The final paragraph of the report of this committee is significant: "Public welfare administration is a technical function of government and includes types of services which require properly prepared, qualified personnel. Personnel standards are a primary concern of all state and local welfare systems and can best be attained by stressing education and experience rather than residence."

J. A. BROWN, *Secretary*

INDIANA BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES  
INDIANAPOLIS

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#### LOCAL

There is no American community which has been completely secure from the ravages of the economic depression. As each community suffered so did the agencies and institutions in the field of welfare.

Social work, both public and private, was just entering a period of specialized technique and new philosophies when it encountered the depression. In spite of their new philosophies and technique of individual treatment, social workers had to meet a mass problem.

It was a period of testing. The questions in the balance are: Shall welfare institutions and agencies survive as they grew up in a period of prosperity? Is case work necessary? Are the values in social work real or do they exist only in theory for times when the going is easy? Just how are we standing the test? What has been lost as a result? Can we regain the losses and hold on to the gains?

Discussion on these points with social work executives has revealed a considerable difference of opinion as to what really constitute losses. It also brought out that there are some very real gains, if we will but recognize them as such.

First among the problems which affected social agencies was the enormous increase in work, with greater limitations of personnel and equipment than ever before. When unemployment first became a problem it was largely the concern of private relief agencies. There were no additional funds available to take care of this situation. In order to provide relief, definite retrenchments in other phases of social work were necessary. In one community-chest city, where the campaign this year was considered a success, the agencies received only 80 per cent of the budget submitted. Agencies in other cities suffered even greater reductions. This meant salary cuts, curtailment of program, and greater economies in purchasing.

Governments reduced budgets in many departments, seriously crippling some of their services so that there would be funds available for relief. In the beginning very little attention was paid to adequate case work and service of relief. Cases were piled upon already overworked men and women because it was thought necessary to do the job as economically as possible so that the essentials could be provided for the growing number of unemployed. What there was of case-work technique in 1929 has very largely been lost by private agencies as well as public agencies. Many of the standards which, over a period of years, had been secured by a struggle, were completely undermined in order to satisfy the public that every economy was being practiced. We knew so little about the job ahead of us that few realized the short-sighted policy in effect in the name of economy.

The "group work" in our local communities has felt a distinct loss in having to reduce its services to the point where a person has to be



"in need and poor" before getting this service. In better days these same agencies served individuals and groups of persons, regardless of their economic status, because they needed the influence and help. Character-building and recreational agencies, in particular, have been the subject of attack and criticism by those who have little conception of the now greater need for their existence and enlarged services. Curtailment of this work in a community program has a more subtle effect than curtailment in health or relief fields. The dangers are not evident although they are just as real.

The hospitals and institutions facing serious retrenchment in their budgets find more and more crowding of facilities. One superintendent of a large institution remarked to me "while my institution has never handled so many cases before, we are certainly able to get good workers at a much lower rate than we have had to pay previously." This is a dubious advantage; certainly a new idea in the question of the effects of the depression. We are told by medical authorities that hospitals which previously ran 50 per cent occupancy now carry between 80 per cent and 90 per cent. In the private hospital field there has had to be a definite curtailment in the types of cases received because they have had to reduce the amount of unpaid service. In institutions for the care of the aged, crowded conditions have reached the danger point, and such valuable services as occupational therapy have been discontinued. One or two cities have experimented in boarding homes for the aged. Many cities are caring for the aged in their own homes or by supplements into homes of relatives. In such places there are insufficient funds for following up investigations or for any case work.

The personnel problem in social agencies has been complicated by the introduction into the work of aggressive persons without training or experience. This has left the administrators and supervisors with many difficulties. The public, in general, because of lack of information on the needs for proper personnel, has minimized the importance of education and experience by its effort to force communities to do a widespread relief job. Many individuals who were valuable social workers have lost their sense of security, and with it the aspiration for finer and better individual service to their cases. To the community this does not loom as an impor-

tant problem; but to the social-work agency and to the institutions it will mean a serious loss—a loss that will be felt most when, in resuming their normal job, they look for consecrated and intelligent service which has gone, perhaps irretrievably, due to the pressure of work and to the new burdens which are added every day.

In the field of child care and dependency we frequently find children dumped into institutions because it is cheaper to keep them there, or certainly less expensive than the boarding-home care which may have been given in the past. Mothers' aid service has seriously been affected through retrenchment. There are cases where family budgets in mothers' pension departments have been forced down to standards of unemployment cases. In some rural communities where this work was just getting started it has been discarded entirely.

On the other hand there are many gains which can be reported. We certainly have a better understanding of the relationship between private and public agencies and the dependence of one upon the other. Out of this understanding will come a better division of responsibilities between the two groups. Certainly there must be greater confidence in the work of each on the part of the other, since they have together handled a common problem. And then there are inter-agency relationships which have been developed because of the need for better co-operation as a means of self-survival. In some places, where a real piece of family work has been done for the first time, a reduction in the amount of child care has been made possible. The importance of maintaining a family through funds provided by the local, state, and national governments has made it unnecessary to provide institutional care for the child. This is a distinct advantage, offsetting the aforementioned disadvantages to children's work.

Certainly we would not have been as conscious of our shortcomings in handling the transient and homeless, had not the formerly unimportant details been magnified by the duration of the depression and the increase in the work placed upon local centers for the care of transients.

Many valuable policies governing this phase of our work have grown out of this new consciousness of the transient problem.

Because for the first time we have been compelled to budget our

time and activities just as we have always done for our finances, we learned to discriminate between essentials and non-essentials. Here is a depression effect which we all can hope will be retained permanently.

A new courage has been developed by the social worker and by the executive because both have found that under real pressure new reserves of strength and resources of energy could be tapped within themselves and their agencies.

As the depression lengthened there was evident need of a better understanding of administration and some improvement in personnel, and now we see, throughout the country, an insistence upon improved standards. Particularly is this true in public agencies where a large share of the burden has fallen. Institutional services, which previously did a lackadaisical piece of work have now come to realize that better records and administration must be established as part of the solution of a great community problem. There has come about, too, a greater realization, on the part of the public, of the work which is done by the social agencies, whether that public be a tax-paying group or private agency contributors. This realization may result in an understanding which will exist for some time and provide for more intelligence in supplying budgets and services.

In the public field we have seen the complete breakdown of the township system for administering poor relief. It has been expensive, ineffective, and resulted in much duplication. With this breakdown private agencies or public groups had to step in to do the job which the law has assigned to the township trustees. This has brought very vividly to the American public the necessity of new organizations for adequate handling of welfare problems, both in institutions and outdoor relief services. The old city and township responsibility has been unable to do the job. In some states definite authority has been granted the county as a relief administrative body. In others there is legislation pending which provides for reorganization with the county as a unit for relief. In this we may discover the real blessing of this economic depression. If our public and private agencies will reorganize on a more adequate scale, serving not only isolated groups and individuals within the county, but also extending their service over the whole area, more effective work will

be done and much duplication will be eliminated. It should be one of the purposes of the public agency in the field of relief to seek enabling legislation in its state so that an adequate county welfare unit may result after careful study and thought on the problems which have come out of this depression. Then, too, we find, very pointedly, a need for an effective system of employment offices which deal not only with the man and woman who are easy to place but will function in the field of abnormal and difficult placement problems. A new importance is attached to finding jobs for our young people. A closer relationship exists between agencies which serve the dependent groups and the public employment service which is constructively and hopefully seeking new jobs in the new day which we hope will not be too long in dawning.

FRED K. HOEHLER, *Director*

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE  
CITY OF CINCINNATI AND COUNTY OF  
HAMILTON, OHIO

## FUNDAMENTALS IN PLANNING A FAMILY WELFARE PROGRAM<sup>\*</sup>

### PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES IN A CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY PROGRAM FOR FAMILY WELFARE AND RELIEF

**A**LTHOUGH the relationships and relative responsibilities of public and private agencies have long been under discussion, the whole subject has been brought to the fore during the past few years by the tremendous increase in the share of relief expenditures coming from governmental sources.

Whatever the causes of this increase, let us hope that it will be accompanied by the continued development of governmental social services in social case work and other social work fields. This does not mean any wholesale or complete transfer of such services from private to public auspices; as I shall show later, the contribution of private agencies to the community program will always be essential. But events are now moving so rapidly that developments of the next few months will determine the whole future of many agencies, and it behooves us now to see that these developments are guided as wisely as possible.

I have no ready formula for a uniform division of functions between public and private agencies. I can only suggest a few principles which may serve as a basis for different adjustments in different communities. But I should first like to clear away certain misconceptions that frequently prejudice discussion of this subject.

The first misconception is that politics, waste, and inefficiency are inevitable in a governmental agency. Such conditions do too frequently exist, but that they are not inevitable is demonstrated by many illustrations. Where such faults exist, they are frequently due to our own failure to create an informed and alert public opinion, which is even more necessary for a public than for a private agency.

Another misconception is that lower standards are to be expected in a public agency. There is no fundamental reason why standards

<sup>\*</sup> Papers read at the joint session of the American Public Welfare Association with the Family Welfare Association of America, Detroit, June 16, 1933.

should not be equally high. Here, however, we must not fall into another common misconception—that equality of standards means identity of standards, or doing exactly the same thing in exactly the same way. With equally high standards there may be a real value in different methods of meeting the same human needs.

There is also the mistaken attitude that the present relief pressure is only temporary, and that with a diminution of unemployment we may return to the more or less even tenor of our old ways of doing things. I do not believe it. The old days are gone; we face a new future alignment. With any conceivable improvement in economic conditions, we shall have four or five million unemployed for the next five years, with an aftermath of human wreckage such as we have never known in any previous depression. Both public and private agencies will have all they can do in facing new problems and the necessity of new ways of meeting them.

We also frequently make the error of starting our discussion with "division of functions," and with points of view too largely influenced by agency loyalties. Agency functions and prerogatives mean nothing in themselves; their only reason for existence is their usefulness in meeting human needs in each community. That should be our starting point.

And, finally, we fall constantly into the very human error of assuming that some national formula can be devised, indicating a uniform relationship between public and private agencies. Such a formula is impossible because of the differences between communities, and the varying degrees of development of different agencies in each community. But in avoiding uniformity we should not fall into the opposite error of seeking no orientation or guiding principles.

I believe we may find such orientation in (1) an examination of some of the fundamental characteristics of public and private agencies; (2) an analysis in each community of the human needs to be met in whatever field of social work we are studying, and, as to each phase of these needs, a consideration of the essential requirements in the agency (public or private) endeavoring to meet them; and (3) the extent to which either the public or private agency can best meet those requirements under the conditions which now exist or can reasonably be expected in the immediate future.

## BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF A PUBLIC AGENCY

What are some of the fundamental characteristics of a public agency? There are not many, and they are perhaps not of the type which you are expecting me to enumerate. They are all based upon one fundamental characteristic. A public agency, in the legal sense in which I shall use the term, is an agency of government—theoretically, an instrument of the *whole* community. Actually, a public agency, because of its very nature, must be subject to the will of a *majority* of the community whenever that will is exerted. It is not always exerted through a numerical majority vote; it is often expressed merely through the opinions of public officials and others who speak officially for the community. The public agency is therefore what I shall call a “majority” agency, and out of the fact, and its governmental relationships, are derived such additional characteristics as the following:

1. The public agency must ultimately do what the majority of the community wishes done.
2. It cannot, in the long run, go very far beyond or stay very far behind the general level of community understanding.
3. It will have a wide area of very useful experimentation, but that experimentation will be chiefly devoted to the improvement of methods and development of functions already accepted by the community.
4. As an instrument of government, its functions must frequently be related to other governmental functions.
5. It, more than the private agency, is affected by extraneous administrative changes in government.
6. It has, at least in theory, all the resources of the community behind it in meeting community needs.
7. It is, or should be, an official instrument of society in mitigating those social and economic inequalities which society has not yet succeeded in correcting (such as unemployment, etc.).

From these and perhaps the other characteristics come both the greater strengths and the limitations of the public agency, which should be remembered in any discussion of so-called public and private social services. Contrasting them with the characteristics of a truly private agency, we shall more clearly see the contribution of each in a community program for meeting human needs.

This leads me to another misconception which I have reserved for discussion at this point—the assumption that because of the rapid



development of public agencies, private social work will disappear, or be taken over entirely by government. I do not subscribe to this view. Rather do I *fear* that we are now witnessing a honeymoon of public social work expenditures which is likely to be followed by a public reaction. That reaction will be inevitable and exaggerated, to the extent to which hasty and inadequate organization of public agencies leads to waste, inefficiency, and inadequate methods. Neither a private agency nor a public agency should be expected to assume a function affecting the welfare of thousands of human beings unless it is so organized as to offer a reasonable assurance of continuity and growth in standards and administration.

There should be a widespread development of governmental social services, but that does not mean a wholesale transfer from private to public auspices. We should be sure of our foundations as we build, being careful to preserve the experience and the values which have already been developed in any community. There are many serious dangers in the extent to which private social agencies are now being subsidized from public funds—dangers both to the private agencies and to government. But that does not mean that such subsidies should be cut off without careful planning, or transferred to any kind of a public agency which may exist or be created, regardless of its equipment for the job. I subscribe whole-heartedly to the principle that "Public funds should be spent *only* by duly established and properly organized *public* agencies," but with emphasis also upon the significance of the words "duly established" and "properly organized."

Now what is a duly established and properly organized public agency? A hasty search of other written material reveals no adequate definition. I shall attempt no final definition myself, but merely to provide a basis for this discussion I shall state briefly my own conception of a true public agency in the light of the characteristics which I have outlined.

To me a "duly established" public agency is one which is created by or under specific authority of law, responsible in all of its operations to the legally constituted public authorities, and financed by tax funds or by other funds administered under direct governmental supervision.

There are many variations between a public agency thus conceived, and a truly private agency. Lack of any clear conception of their significance continually confuses discussion. To me such agencies as the following are essentially quasi-public in their strengths and limitations, though they vary from the more desirable "duly established" public agency in somewhat the order in which they are listed.

1. A temporary agency, such as an emergency relief commission, not yet authorized by law but created by and responsible to public officials, sometimes as a preliminary to legal authorization.
2. An independent agency legally designated under contract as an agency of government for specific purposes, but continuing to be governed by a board of directors which is neither appointed by nor responsible to the public authorities.
3. An agency whose executive only is officially appointed an agent of government, but whose staff is used in the expenditure of public funds while still under the control of a private board.
4. An independent agency the *major portion* of whose budget consists of grants (whether outright or conditional) from tax funds, where such grants are given as a means of discharging a public responsibility.
5. A so-called private agency, having no direct relationship with government, but seeking its support from a majority of the public and considering itself responsible to that majority in meeting a general community need.

Most agencies in community chests are quasi-public agencies in this sense, since they are responsible to a general constituency which is frequently larger than the number of taxpayers. Organizations of these types are often called private agencies, but their functions are essentially of a public nature. They possess most of the limitations and a few of the values of a genuine governmental agency. In saying this I am not necessarily criticizing these semi-public organizations, for many of them, like the rest of us, have been merely drifting with the tide. Such agencies may have accepted quasi-governmental responsibilities consciously because of a difficult community situation, and they have sometimes wisely set up "unemployment relief divisions" as a temporary measure leading toward the creation of a real public agency. Nor do I mean that such organizations should immediately be taken over by government without preliminary planning; such action would destroy many values built up over a long period of years. But we might as well recognize the transitional

nature of this hybrid state of development, and begin immediately to develop a "duly established and properly organized" public agency which can perform the types of services accepted by a majority of the community. In this whole discussion I am of course speaking only of communities which are large enough to support both a public and a private agency.

And now assuming that it is "duly established," what is a "properly organized" public agency? That is a large subject, upon which much has been written. Lack of time forbids me to say more than that to me the term means an agency so organized as to give reasonable assurance of (1) elimination of political and other purposes ulterior to its function, (2) continuity of administrative policies and personnel, (3) high standards of work and personnel, or at least evidence of growth toward such standards.

These and other criteria apply almost equally to the organization of private agencies, the chief differences arising from the relationships of the public agency to government.

#### BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF A PRIVATE AGENCY

My conviction that private social work will survive and grow in the future is based upon a number of factors. In the first place—and unfortunately—the human wreckage from this depression will give both public and private family welfare agencies all they can do for years to come. In the second place, there will always be families and individuals whose personal readjustments have little direct relationship to economic distress, and whose problems will therefore lie more clearly within the sphere of the private agency.

But, above all, we need only remember that the truly private or voluntary agency has its roots in human impulses, and that those impulses will continue to exist in all their variety and vitality. The present loss of private financial support represents merely an ebb and flow of one of the means—that is, money—with which people implement their impulses. But soon, let us hope, there will be an improvement in the economic situation. And then we shall inevitably see *one* group of individuals interested in creating or supporting *this* project, *another* group with the means to support *that* project, and so on. In other words, people will again have the means to implement a varie-

ty of human impulses in meeting a variety of human needs. It is up to the private agencies to see that these impulses find free channels of expression.

In that last phrase there lies the future promise and the peculiar characteristic of truly private social work. If private or voluntary agencies are to make their distinctive contribution to a community program, they must be—or must become what they are not now in many communities—expressions of different minority groups of informed citizens, each interested in meeting a special human need through special types of service not yet accepted as a responsibility of the whole community.

In other words the private agency, as distinguished from the public, is or should be a "minority" agency. (Here, as elsewhere, I shall use the term "minority" primarily in its quantitative sense.) Out of this fundamental characteristic flow others, among which are the following:

1. The private agency may be designed to meet human needs not yet recognized by a majority of the public as vital or meriting community support; or
2. The *validity* of its methods, in meeting a recognized *common* human need may not yet be accepted by the community.
3. It should not attempt to extend its support beyond an intelligent and interested group.
4. It should not be subjected to "majority" control, save where its purposes or methods are truly antisocial—a situation which should be met by educational persuasion or the exercise of governmental police power, rather than by extra-legal force. As soon as it is subjected to majority control, it ceases to be a voluntary or truly private agency in any real sense of the word.
5. It should seek not to duplicate but to supplement the work of the public agency, through
  - a) Performing services which may not be properly a function of government;
  - b) Meeting limitations which are not necessarily inherent in a public agency, but which may be imposed by law or custom;
  - c) Emphasizing innovation and variety rather than uniformity of method.
6. Along with possible greater freedom in experimentation, as a minority agency it does not have all the resources of the community behind it—a fact which private agencies have too often forgotten in assuming a public responsibility for meeting widespread community needs.

Now, of course, a minority nearly always—perhaps too often—strives to become a majority. When the process is artificial or super-

ficial, you have a hybrid agency without all the peculiar values of either private or public service. But when the process is genuine—when a service becomes understood and supported by a real majority—then you have a service which has matured to a point where it may be ready to be taken over by government. And then its supporters must find some way of continuing their interest in it through government, but they may also resolve themselves into new minorities to support new ways of doing things.

#### AN ILLUSTRATIVE APPLICATION

There are doubtless other differing characteristics of public and private agencies, and some of those which I have named probably do not apply equally in all communities. But I believe this analysis to be basically valid; the more so because it offers no rigid division of functions, but only a basis upon which different communities may make different adjustments.

You will note also that these characteristics apply in varying degree to public and private social agencies in nearly all fields of social work. How shall we apply them in any one field? I have said that we must start with human needs, which after all are the only bases of social agency functions. Merely by way of illustration I shall cite a few needs in any community program (not an agency program) for family welfare and relief.

The possibilities of different, but equally valuable, case work developments in such a program interest me perhaps more than anything else. But I have the time here only to sketch the bases of a sounder public-private agency relationship, and shall have to leave many case work implications for later elaboration. I shall therefore cite only some of the elements which should be considered in any community program for family welfare, leaving it to you to apply the criteria which I have suggested. In other words, bearing in mind the different characteristics of governmental and voluntary agencies and the tremendous relief pressures which confront us for several years, I leave to you all judgment as to whether a public or a private agency in your particular community can best be equipped to meet these needs now or in the immediate future.

You will probably note that different phases of the *same* need may

be met in different ways by public and by private agencies. Let us start with the point of view not of the professional case worker, but of the average citizen, going on into the more intangible needs which the social worker sees.

1. Adequate relief, which has two principal phases:
  - a) The total community relief need, requiring access to total community resources corresponding to fluctuations in the total need.
  - b) Special individual relief needs, requiring an ability in the agency to adjust relief to different circumstances and different standards of living.
2. Attention to the "morale" of those in need of relief, varying between the more objective and practical, and the more subjective and experimental, types of personal service, to meet such situations as:
  - a) Purely economic need—of which unemployment in an otherwise normal family is an illustration, requiring the development of greater skills in a primarily objective approach.
  - b) Environmental problems—where changes in physical environment may be the chief requisite.
  - c) Permanent physical handicaps—such as old age, blindness, and so on, which require more imagination in case work treatment than we have shown in the past.
  - d) Ignorance or lack of understanding by the family of community opportunities—where the chief requisite may be time, patience, and skill in interpretation and education.
  - e) Problems of personality and personal relationships—requiring a voluntary effort on the part of both the client and the agency to treat the more "private" difficulties in the human personality.

The foregoing situations and the case work approaches to them are not mutually exclusive; they represent merely different emphases requiring varying approaches in which the quality of case work may be equally high.

3. Personal service (social case work) in families where there is as yet no relief need—a great preventive and experimental task.
4. Development in practice of the best social case work methods, of both the objective and subjective types, through
  - a) The improvement of accepted methods;
  - b) Pioneering in new and generally unaccepted methods.
5. Training of social case workers, in
  - a) Accepted methods;
  - b) A knowledge of new or experimental methods.
6. Research, or an increase in knowledge of
  - a) Social case work;
  - b) Effects of social and economic maladjustments in family life.
7. From the standpoint of the layman—an opportunity for different groups of interested citizens to participate in specific activities.

8. Community interpretation—or what is commonly called publicity, on controversial as well as non-controversial aspects of the foregoing needs.
9. Other community activities—such as housing reform, changes in court procedure, agitation for social legislation, and so on.

As we examine these and other needs in the family field, we realize that a rounded family welfare and relief program (particularly in the larger communities) requires both public and private agencies, each supplementing the other, with co-operation and an interflow of services between them.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

If public and private agencies, in meeting human needs, are to realize their true potentialities as majority and minority agencies, some basic readjustments are required. They should cease to confuse *equality* with *identity* of standards, and each should seek the highest standards within its particular sphere. The public agency should not claim that it "can do all that a private agency can do," just as the private agency should not claim that it "can do all that a public agency can do." Let each take pride in doing the best job possible within its sphere as a governmental or a voluntary agency; each supplementing, supporting, and learning from the other.

The public agency has perhaps the more overwhelming developmental task in overcoming public inertia and misunderstanding. It will need all the support which other agencies can give. But the greatest internal readjustment will lie within the private agency. It must cease to take pride primarily in its size and in the purely quantitative importance of its job. The public agency must serve the whole community; the voluntary agency need not pretend to. It should attempt to do no more than it can do well. It must redevelop an informed and specially interested constituency, and not seek financial support far beyond what the group can give. Without the support of such a special constituency, the private agency will inevitably die, or become a hybrid with all of the limitations and few of the values of either a private or a public agency.

All of this has many implications also for community chests and councils of social agencies. Community chests have performed a great and useful public function in arousing public consciousness and



creating greater *community* support for social services. But, because of their stress on generalized appeals to the majority of the community, they have been more effective in transforming private agencies into public or semipublic agencies than in preserving their peculiar values as private agencies. If it is to continue as a channel for private agency support, the community chest must become transformed into a true financial federation as one of the group services of a more inclusive council of social agencies, and with an emphasis upon co-operative financial planning rather than upon a single wholesale appeal to a majority of the public. Otherwise, its basis of existence—the private agencies—will gradually disappear.

Another implication for community chests is related to the growing recognition that the programs of the whole group of private agencies can no longer be carried upon a community *relief* appeal, and that appeals for support in the future must be based upon the merits of *service* programs. Most financial federations are visualizing all aspects of a rounded private agency program, but some apparently expect to emphasize primarily the services of health, leisure-time, and educational agencies, on the false assumption that family social work disappears as a private agency responsibility along with the major community responsibility for relief.

If the foregoing analysis of family welfare and relief needs means anything, it means that there are many vital phases of family social work which will continue to require the existence of a private agency; that family social work as a basic element of a community chest program is in greater need of emphasis and interpretation than ever before; and that private agencies now have a greater challenge as well as a greater opportunity to interpret the values of social case work as a *personal service* in dealing with the morale-destroying effects of unemployment, regardless of where the major responsibility for relief may lie. Such an interpretation of the family agency as a service agency must be included in all chest or financial federation publicity. Furthermore, in family welfare as well as in other fields, the development of governmental responsibility itself requires the interest and positive support of private agencies as never before.

If the true potentialities of private agencies are to be realized, the purpose of the future financial federation must be co-operative plan-

ning of appeals to varying groups for varying needs, at different times or continuously during the year. Some community chests are already experimenting with such methods, but they have rarely gone the whole way—the placing back upon each agency of responsibility for its own appeal, in the development of its own supporting constituency. Co-operative financial planning is quite different from a single wholesale financial appeal. It means something quite different from the term “community chest,” which, whatever the significance we may read into it, means to the general public “all your money into the same pot.” In saying these things I do not consider myself as an outsider talking about community chests. We are all equally concerned in the financing of social work; we have all participated in the trends which have led us to where we are. And the changes in chest organization here discussed are no more radical than those suggested for individual agencies.

And, finally, with a broader vision of the ways of meeting human needs, councils of social agencies may become what the best of community organization leaders have visualized them as being. They should become true community councils, with less emphasis upon the *financial* and other special concerns of private agencies alone, and embracing all public and private agencies and other groups genuinely devoted to a co-operative community program. Their objective should be co-operative planning with clearly decentralized control.

#### CONCLUSION

So, in this brief discussion of meeting human needs in a community program for family welfare:

1. We see public agencies, as an instrument of government, assuming and improving upon those social services which are accepted as the responsibility of the majority of the community.
2. We see private agencies assuming responsibility for developing those types or phases of family social work which are not the function of government, or which still require minority group interest and support.
3. We foresee the transformation of community chests into federations for co-operative financial planning, whose purpose will be assistance in the development of individual agency constituencies, rather than a single majority appeal.
4. And, finally, we catch the vision which the best of the community organiza-

tion leaders have urged upon us—a vision of true community counseling, based not upon conflicting agency loyalties but upon that complexity of human needs which make up the average American community.

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# LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR A STATE-WIDE PROGRAM OF CONSTRUCTIVE PUBLIC RELIEF

The New York State legislature in the fall of 1931 provided a relief fund of twenty million dollars to assist local city and county welfare districts in providing for the destitute, defining an emergency relief period of six months. Succeeding legislative sessions have provided additional funds, defining new "emergency periods."

In New York, as in a number of other states, a new state organization was created to administer the state relief funds. From the beginning of its plans the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration conceived its function to be to conduct its activities so that local relief administration, in so far as controlled or guided by the state body, would be humane, efficient, and economical of local and state funds during the relief emergency, and so that permanent gains would have been made in methods of public relief when the relief emergency is over and the development of relief standards again becomes the sole responsibility of the State Department of Social Welfare. With these ends in view, the state administration proceeded on the basis of the following main premises:

1. *Administration of home relief through the already existing agencies*, city and county departments of public welfare. Work relief, a practically new and untried measure, offered an opportunity for a new type of board representative of community interest.
2. *Unification of local administration*. As an emergency measure the unemployment relief act provided that town (township) welfare officers should obtain state reimbursement for relief expenditures only through the county commissioner of public welfare, who, heretofore, in all but ten of the 58 upstate counties, had no control over town relief activities. Thus, instead of more than one thousand independent local relief units, 115 welfare districts were defined, comprising incorporated cities and county areas outside of these cities.
3. *Assistance to the local relief officials in organizing efficient and economical administration*, both from the business and social points of view. The state administration from the beginning of its activities has had a field staff of about

twenty men and women with experience in social work, each responsible for an average of six welfare districts. A staff of field auditors assists the local welfare departments and emergency work bureaus in setting up office administration and accounting systems. Both of these field staffs check up on compliance of the relief agencies with the rules governing state participation in relief expenditures.

4. *Humane and efficient relief administration requires personnel equipped for this service.* Consequently provision was made for assistance from state funds to local welfare districts for salaries of social workers whose qualifications were approved by the T.E.R.A.

As a background for the problems of relief administration during the emergency, it must be remembered that New York State contains one-tenth of the population of the United States. Like Illinois, it is divided into two parts—the metropolis and, in this case, “upstate,” each with about one-half of the state population. In the upstate section public relief was administered by more than one thousand independent city, county, and town units. In New York City there has been no general public home relief since the 1880's. Home relief and work relief bureaus were organized in December, 1931, for emergency relief in co-operation with the state administration.

The situation was similar to that existing in most other states. Except in the largest upstate cities there were no workers in public relief administration who had any social service experience. In a large proportion of the cities and towns there was little or no home investigation to determine the needs of families and the aid required. Doles of \$2.50 to \$5.00 or \$6.00 a week were given as a routine matter, regardless of the size of the family or their resources. There was waste of funds as well as parsimony of relief because of the lack of proper inquiry into family needs. Information is not available on the extent of relief in the preceding years, but figures for some of the larger cities indicate that by the fall of 1931 relief expenditures were already two or three times as high as in normal years, and many districts were finding it impossible to carry the load without state aid. Private family service and relief agencies existed in less than half of the upstate cities and practically none were in county areas outside of cities. In New York City private relief agencies and special emergency relief funds were carrying the entire unemployment relief burden.

The emergency relief acts and the rules formulated by the administration made certain requirements designed to bring relief methods into harmony with modern standards as rapidly as possible in view of existing conditions in the various welfare districts. Without reasonable compliance with these requirements reimbursement is not granted from state funds. The keynote is found in the statement that needy persons shall receive sufficient home relief or work relief "to prevent physical suffering and to maintain minimum living standards," with "maximum efficiency in furnishing relief." The amount of relief must be based on a budget estimate of the weekly needs of the individual or family and their resources, the details of which must be entered on a record form for each relief case. Investigation, including visits to the home, must be made of each applicant for relief. Continued contact with families receiving relief is required. Establishment of a central index where none existed was required for registration of all relief applications in the district. As a part of the requirements upon which reimbursement by the state is based there was inaugurated in each welfare district a system of financial accounts and a beginning was made in obtaining and recording essential social facts. Standards of family food allowances were drafted in harmony with the recommendations of nutritionists.

The administration's rules state that each home relief or work relief bureau "should have at least one trained and experienced investigator on its staff," and that in the larger offices where there are a number of investigators, "there should be a supervisor, trained and experienced in the essential elements of family case work and relief administration, to supervise the work of the investigating staff."

The Administration's field representatives and field auditors have interpreted these standards to the local officials and have assisted them in conforming to the regulations.

So much for the background and the principles upon which the state administration has built its program. What has actually been accomplished during the year and a half of local and state co-operation in meeting relief needs? Relief administration in the midst of an overwhelming emergency cannot be measured with the yardstick of perfect relief standards. Now and then we experience a tendency to

do so, and it is well that local and state relief administration should be kept on its toes. But, in the words of the federal relief administrator, who was largely responsible for the New York State standards, it is necessary to be realistic. Century-old outdoor relief habits cannot be changed over night. The T.E.R.A. has exercised its authority through education and supervision and has not itself undertaken administration of local relief. In the interest of permanency of standards, the administration has conceived its function to be to develop the relief program through local agencies, moving only as fast as it is possible to obtain intelligent co-operation of the local officials. But it has insisted upon certain fundamentals and has expected, and usually has found, continued improvement as a result of recognition by the local officials of the financial, if not the social, purpose of the required standards.

Holding the purse strings is a powerful incentive to securing adherence to regulations, but a change of heart that is going to remain after the compulsions of the depression must have a deeper foundation of idealism than most public welfare officials have been credited with. Permanent change is not going to be effected unless the community itself recognizes the importance of relief standards and insists upon having humane and efficient public administration. Little by little this is taking place. All signs point toward significant changes within the next few months that will have a large influence upon public relief administration. As a result of progressive thought and experimentation by the local districts themselves, the legislature has authorized consolidation of home relief and work relief within a city or a county, or unification of city and county relief administration, through the establishment of a new emergency relief bureau, the members—from three to five in number—to be appointed by the mayor of a city or the chairman of a county board of supervisors, or by these officials jointly. The present commissioner of public welfare becomes a member of this bureau, but not necessarily with any special authority. Thus a group of citizens, some of whom no doubt will have been connected with the administration of work relief, will assume responsibility for the entire public relief program. This is an emergency measure, but it cannot fail to have a far-reaching effect, at least in educating the community. The next

move will undoubtedly be to amend the State Public Welfare Law in conformity with this experiment.

One of the greatest handicaps to proper administration of public relief is the town or township relief system. Unification for purposes of state reimbursement of relief expenditures has brought some degree of recognition of the desirability of the county relief unit. But too many personal and political factors enter into the situation to permit much hope of a real change unless there is a definite educational movement in this direction. The consolidation of relief activities mentioned above may prove an effective means of bringing about the elimination of town relief administration.

What progress has been made in relief standards? There are twice fifty-seven varieties of relief standards, plus New York City. The answer can be given best through some "before and after taking" summaries.

*CITY OF ALMOST 100,000 POPULATION—before November, 1931:* Applicants were received in line at a window, with others crowding about. The room was so small that the bulk of the crowd waited in the corridor, standing, and the work was so poorly organized that sometimes an applicant needed to come several days in succession, waiting all day before he could gain a hearing from the chief investigator, who passed upon all cases. The confusion was terrible. First interviews were taken by a clerk and typed at the time of taking in the presence of the applicant, with other clients within hearing. One home visit but no others; the investigation was largely financial; \$3.00 was granted for one adult, \$4.00 for two, \$5.00 for three. Aid was continued only on reapplication.

*March, 1933:* The T.E.R.A. standards of food allowances have been adopted with slight modification. Food allowances are now adequate. One quart of milk is provided for each child under three, one pint daily for children from three to fourteen years, and one quart daily for nursing or expectant mothers, one quart for every tuberculosis "contact case," and also an extra allowance where malnutrition is reported. Cod liver oil is given to all families receiving relief which include small children, and to older children when a nurse or doctor advises it. It is distributed through the health clinic. There is a nutritionist of some training on the staff and a more highly trained and experienced nutritionist is used as a consultant. Some work in the education of housewives in selection and preparation of food has been done through the schools and a regional plan for city classes for clients is under consideration.

*CITY OF 70,000—before November, 1931:* Aid was limited to a small number of cases of the chronic type. Scanty investigations, little home visiting, and no supervision. The charities department had a disagreeable reputation and the



policy seemed to be to make application for relief as difficult as possible. There was lack of courtesy and consideration for applicants. Food orders were never for more than \$6.00 a week. Little milk was given. Rent was paid only once in a year and not more than \$35.

*March, 1933:* The department has completely accepted the idea of adequate food allowances. Investigations and budget-making and the relief given are now under the direction and supervision of the social worker supplied by the T.E.R.A. A staff of ten is carrying on home investigations. The T.E.R.A. food budgets have been modified somewhat, but while relief has been "trimmed to the bone" it is given consistently and regularly and on the whole is adequate. The department of public welfare is more and more assuming responsibility for rents. The maximum is \$45 but most of the rents paid average \$25.

*CITY OF 9,000—before November, 1931:* All cases known to the commissioner received aid without investigation, and new cases were usually allowed a relief order upon application. Subsequent aid was given only upon reapplication. A grocery order was made out by the applicant and if anything listed did not seem advisable the commissioner eliminated the article. These orders were not in excess of \$5.00, regardless of the size of the family.

Early in December the T.E.R.A. field representative made a number of home visits with the investigator and went into cases more thoroughly. As a result, milk was added to the food allowances in a number of cases; home visits were made on all new cases, and follow-up visits were made on cases previously known. While adequate food was not given, the number in the family was considered and their needs for clothing and medical care were provided for.

*March, 1933:* Standards of food relief are greatly improved, and the commissioner says "I can now see the reason for all this—to prevent people from getting sick." In general the food budget is more adequate for health. The tendency is to keep it low because the city funds are very low due to bank failures.

*COUNTY WELFARE DISTRICT—before November, 1931:* The home relief of the county was distributed by the town officials. No social history was kept, nor was there any standard as to types of cases accepted or the amount of relief allowed. Each town official was doing his own little job. Investigation and home visits were not made and subsequent aid was dependent upon reapplication. In one village the town officer stated that \$10.00 a month was sufficient for any poor family.

Actual improvement did not occur until January, 1932, when the T.E.R.A. placed an experienced social worker in the county to work continuously with the town officers, impressing upon them that adequate aid must be given, otherwise a health problem would be the outcome. Cases were investigated and the relief was granted on a budget basis. In some towns this was done because it was required by the T.E.R.A. In other towns, however, the welfare officer recognized the value of actually knowing home conditions.

Not all the 115 welfare districts have made such definite progress as yet, but it can safely be said that all of them have moved a long way toward recognizing and putting into practice the standards of adequacy which are insisted upon, especially in food allowances. The situation with respect to rent is less hopeful. In some districts it is being faced constructively, but more generally evasion has been the watchword, because of the cost of meeting the issue. The T.E.R.A. is at present making a study in all of the welfare districts of the methods of providing for shelter, with a view especially to obtaining information regarding plans for rent payments from relief funds on a fair basis of taxes, interest, or carrying charges.

The foregoing summaries of relief standards have indicated the importance of experienced social workers in bringing about improved administration. It has been stated that the T.E.R.A. recognized social service as one of the fundamental needs of relief administration, especially in the emergency period when funds must be conserved and when a large proportion of the relief applicants are people who have been accustomed to good standards of living and whose morale and independence must be protected. In May, 1933, there were in the state a total of 4,100 workers in jobs requiring social work experience—that is, receiving applications, making investigations, and supervising the social work staff. That the greater number of these did not have the requisite social work experience is self-evident.

A system of providing investigators through "white collar" work projects was initiated at the beginning of the state relief period. In New York City the majority of the persons engaged as investigators are in this class. Like all mass treatment the system is subject to much question, even from a financial point of view. In the upstate districts, on the other hand, only about half of the investigators are obtained through work projects and they are in general selected carefully and are under the supervision of experienced social workers.

Six hundred salaried workers are employed in social service jobs in the upstate districts, the salaries of two hundred of them being paid in full or in part from state funds. Eighty-two per cent of the workers in supervisory positions and 11 per cent of those receiving

applications or making investigations had previous social work experience. The state administration is now facing the problem of setting standards of equipment of workers and fixing a salary scale, and making plans for training courses in social case work and assistance to supervisors in providing "training on the job" for their staffs.

One other subject of paramount importance cannot be omitted here, although time does not permit more than brief mention—the relationship of private family service and relief agencies to the public relief program. The T.E.R.A. placed the responsibility for administration of home relief funds with the local public agencies that had been administering relief for decades. The bulk of the relief load has always been handled by public relief agencies, and the prospects are that an even larger share of financial responsibility will fall upon the public agencies in the future. The administration has recognized the importance of private relief agencies and the very great assistance given by a number of them in placing experienced workers at the disposal of the public relief agencies. In some instances the administration has, informally and unofficially, urged upon private agencies a continuation and expansion of their own activities, when the societies showed an inclination to lose their identities in service for public relief.

Private family service and relief agencies of any definite character unfortunately are found in only 36 of the 115 welfare districts—in half of the cities and one-eighth of the counties. The total relief expenditure in 1932 in the upstate districts from public funds was approximately \$38,000,000 and from private funds \$2,000,000. It is more essential at this time than ever before that the work of family service agencies should be conserved and expanded into new areas. Private agencies have always been recognized as the keepers of relief standards—sometimes they have conceived this to mean keeping them within the family. They now have a golden opportunity to share them. The gains that are being made in public relief administration can be upheld only through the real interest of those people in the community who understand case work values.

Just what form of service is needed from private agencies to supplement public relief during the depression and to work alongside when normal times return, must be determined through study and

experimentation in each individual community. There can be no question but that private service is needed during the emergency period. When the time comes for relief deflation it will be more essential than ever before to work out a balance between public and private responsibility in order to maintain proper standards of public relief. The New York State administration has urged upon the private-agency group the desirability not only of studying the relationship between private and public agencies, but particularly of creating relationships that will preserve the standards set by the private agencies.

EMMA O. LUNDBERG, *Director of Research and Statistics*  
NEW YORK STATE TEMPORARY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LOCAL PROGRAM IN FAMILY WELFARE

Miss Rich has suggested that this paper be specific and developed around my own experience, hence the frequent references to St. Paul and its agencies.

In order to picture the recent developments in family welfare in St. Paul, it is necessary to review briefly the work of past years. Scanning the history of family welfare work in this particular community, we find it does not differ very much from that of most other American cities. In the late 1880's there were public and private agencies rendering relief of one kind or another. The Charity Organization Society came along followed by the departmentalized Associated Charities and later the United Charities. During all this time an organization known as the Outdoor relief department of the city was rendering some relief, very much in the same fashion as public agencies of many other communities—inadequate supplemental relief limited to food and fuel.

While always a strong moving force in the family welfare field, the private organization grew very rapidly with the beginning of the community chest in 1921. It should be mentioned here that there are two other private family agencies, both limited in size and scope of work.

At various times, attempts were made to develop a working relationship between the public and private agencies. In so far as any

division of responsibility was concerned these attempts were failures. However, they did assist in bringing about a harmonious and friendly relationship between public and private agencies. The general public, including many board members and welfare council members, were inclined to look upon the private family society as the major agency and the public organization only as a supplementary relief agency. In fact, one wonders if at times the social workers in private societies did not look upon the public organization as a natural resource of all citizens.

Between 1921 and 1930 perhaps the most outstanding change in the social work program of this community was the creation, under a special act of legislature, of a board of public welfare. This organization consisting of a board of five members appointed by the mayor with the approval of the county commissioners and city council, was given the task of carrying on a number of city and county public welfare programs of which relief at that time was a small part. The financial support came from both city and county tax funds on a matching basis.

As mentioned previously, the relief work of the public agency was restricted to food and fuel on a supplemental basis. The staff consisted of one investigator and one executive whose time was divided between the many duties of his office. In brief, this community's family welfare program was being developed entirely around the private agency.

Several attempts were made to work out a division of the field of work between public and private organizations. Of course, these approaches were usually along the lines of the public group taking total responsibility for the "chronic," the "long-time relief cases," "old age," "unemployment"—in fact all family problems then thought "not promising case work material." As mentioned previously, these unsuccessful attempts at dividing the field of work were not without profit. Few communities can point to a more friendly relationship between its public and private agencies. We learned how to discuss problems, disagree, and part friends.

The pressure of unemployment and the accompanying need for relief began to be felt seriously in 1931 when a large public works program was brought to a close. What was this middle western city

to do? Reports from the East indicated serious problems, financial and otherwise. Certainly such a critical situation warranted a citizens' committee on unemployment. Then Mayor Bundlie appointed such a committee early in 1931. Results are difficult to discover except in the work of the subcommittee on relief. This committee surveyed the situation and made an honest attempt to ascertain the relief needs and the available resources to meet them. The joint statistical bureau, jointly financed by the community chest and the board of public welfare, helped make this committee's work more effective. This latter organization created to compile unduplicated relief figures for the entire county covering the relief work of all major and minor agencies had valuable data for the subcommittee.

Sufficient data were gathered to indicate a very trying winter. The public agency's financial resources were limited by law and the state legislature did not meet in time to be of help. The normal budgets of the private agencies were inadequate. The committee's recommendations were obvious. The Community Chest was asked to try to raise the extra amount estimated to be needed (about \$265,000). This task was accepted by the Chest and realized in its fall campaign.

With the funds privately subscribed at the request of a committee under public sponsorship the question of administering these funds was raised by the Chest directors. The board of public welfare went on record as not desiring to handle any of the money, stating it would spend its regularly appropriated funds and take such steps as were legally possible to obtain from some public source additional funds when and if needed. The board of directors of the Community Chest did not look with favor upon the idea of assuming total responsibility for budgeting the extra funds raised at the request of the mayor's committee.

This led to the appointment of a special committee of five members appointed by the mayor and five by the Chest to budget the emergency fund. This committee for the want of a better name was known as the "Joint Committee." It should be mentioned here that the Mayor serves as president of both the city council and county board of commissioners.

To budget a \$265,000 relief fund without becoming involved in the

problem of co-ordination of relief services was impossible. Before many days passed, the Joint Committee was faced with the age old question—how to co-ordinate the work of the public and private agencies and avoid delay, waste, duplication, and imposition on the clients? Also, what steps should be taken to utilize to the best interests of all the experiences of the various agencies?

For the first time citizens were beginning to question seriously the wisdom of clients going to two agencies in order to have their needs met. Again the question of dividing the field of work was raised, thoroughly discussed, and discarded because of well-intended and perhaps sound opposition—opposition largely from the public officials and public agency members.

The work of the Joint Committee resulted in a division of the relief field on the basis of kinds of relief each agency was best equipped to administer. It was decided that the private agencies should assume total responsibility for all families needing more than food and fuel. The public agency should increase its family food and fuel budgets and its staff and assume total responsibility for all families needing only food and fuel. Of course, a basis for the transfer of families was worked out, the details of which we cannot take time to enumerate now. Thus, on January 1, 1932, there was established for the first time in the history of family welfare in this city a division of responsibility between public and private agencies.

That such a division was not scientific cannot be denied. However, we know that it was the only step that could be taken under the circumstances and we also know that one or both agencies were prevented from being completely swamped during the long winter months.

Early spring of 1932 brought a new problem. The number of families needing more than food and fuel were rapidly increasing. The total monthly applications continued to mount. In fact, the case loads of January were the lowest for the entire year. The private agencies were faced with an increasing relief load and decreasing funds.

Beginning in June, 1932, a plan was devised whereby the private agencies requisitioned food and fuel from the public organization. The basis for dividing the field remained the same thus furnishing



some control over agency case loads. The case workers of the private agencies wrote food and fuel orders on public requisitions and the latter organization sent a clerical person twice each day to the offices to sign these orders in accordance with the county attorney's ruling.

What to do about the ever increasing number of families flocking to the one public office was the next question to be settled. The Joint Committee, however, was no longer available. The funds it supervised were exhausted and a change in Administration meant a change in citizens' committees.

Mayor Mahoney immediately after taking office in June, 1932, appointed a large Citizens' Committee on Employment which was divided into subcommittees. This time a number of the subcommittees carried to a successful conclusion their programs.

The subcommittee on relief, among other recommendations, urged the creation of a Mayor's Relief Co-ordination Committee with three representatives appointed by each of the following: Mayor Mahoney, board of public welfare, and the private agencies; the mayor and executives of the public agency, Community Chest, and United Charities to be ex-officio members.

This group earnestly set to work immediately after its appointment. One of the first acts apart from financial problems was to recommend the decentralizing of the public agency into the district offices of the United Charities. This, of course, called for re-arranging personnel and offices of the private agency as well as of the public organization. The latter also found it necessary to immediately increase its overloaded staff.

By October, 1932, the two agencies were working side by side in the district offices, having joint waiting rooms and drawing on each other for certain relief funds. The same division of the field as mentioned earlier remained in force. The United Charities, in order to avoid an increased case load due to referrals for clothing, permitted the public workers to requisition clothing at the United Charities' expense. The intake workers of the private organization took over the task of interviewing all new applicants regardless of which agency would assume final responsibility.

While the relationship between workers of the two agencies was entirely informal it was, nevertheless, harmonious.

The board of directors of the United Charities realizing the family welfare department was becoming more and more involved in unemployment relief work decided to take steps to preserve a nucleus of its former service program. In the fall of 1932 one senior visitor in each district was relieved of responsibility for unemployment work and asked to handle a limited case load of not more than fifty families. In general, these families were selected because they desired case work service. While the personnel of this new division was small, a start had been made toward preserving something of the old program.

Funds from private resources continued to dwindle. The fall campaign of the Chest fell short of its goal. Relief costs continued to mount. From June, 1932, until January, 1933, the private agencies needed only call on the public agency for food and fuel. In January, 1933, they asked to be reimbursed for rent expenditures and this request was granted. In February the private agency asked to be reimbursed for gas and light expenditures and in March made the same request regarding clothing.

It was inevitable and proper that the public officials should question the wisdom of continuing to be the paymasters for an organization over which they had no control. On the other hand, few persons were anxious to see the one large privately supported family society withdraw from the field. The public department had an inadequate staff, lacked district offices, and had little experience in administering relief other than food and fuel and certainly had no experience in conducting a service program. In fact, the situation might be compared to that of two libraries—one with lots of books and no staff and the other with a big staff and no books. The problem became one of bringing the two together in the best interests of the community. An added problem was the complicated system that had been built up due to the supplemental relief program. The problem was turned over to Mayor Mahoney's Relief Co-ordination Committee.

In April, 1933, the recommendations of the co-ordination committee were put into practice. The board of public welfare officially

established a family welfare department placing it on the same basis as other departments with the director in full charge working under policies formulated by the public board. The United Charities gave an indefinite leave of absence to its executive and he became director of the public family welfare department. The private society also loaned its entire service and relief staff and equipment to the family welfare department to work under the direction of the director and under policies formulated by the board of public welfare.

Recognition was given to the private society's service program previously mentioned and in fact the co-ordination committee strongly recommended an increase in the staff devoted to this work. It also was agreed that the religious, student training, and volunteer programs of the United Charities be continued, all three functions to be under the control of the directors of the United Charities.

The mayor's committee is being enlarged to include all five members of the board of public welfare and at least five or six additional members of the board of the United Charities. This committee will serve in an advisory capacity to the director of the family welfare department.

It is interesting to know that no formal and written agreements have been drawn up. The basis for the merger is trust and confidence in each other.

St. Paul now has one large family welfare organization jointly supported by private and public funds—the unemployment relief and service work being conducted under policies formulated by the board of public welfare and the intensive service work, religious, student training, and volunteer programs under policies formulated by the directors of the United Charities. The whole program is co-ordinated under the immediate direction and supervision of the director of the family welfare department.

Between the public family welfare department and the two small private societies still exists a supplementary working relationship.

Three other important steps have been taken in recent years that have done much to develop St. Paul's family welfare program.

In the fall of 1931 various Lutheran Synodical groups formed a Lutheran Emergency Relief Committee and took steps to set up a Lutheran Family Welfare Society. The board of directors of the

United Charities suggested to this committee that such a step was unnecessary and unwise. They recommended the Lutheran group become a committee of the United Charities and devote its time and skills to developing a closer relationship between the church and social work. The United Charities agreed to secure on its staff a well-trained case worker—Lutheran in faith—to serve as Lutheran case consultant. Of course, this person's qualifications from a denominational point of view were to be approved by the Lutheran committee and her case work qualifications by the United Charities. Two nominees from the Lutheran Emergency Relief Committee also were elected to the board of directors of the United Charities. It was very unfortunate that this group had never before been represented.

To date the results have been more than any of us dared anticipate a year and a half ago. Some interesting facts are being discovered relative to the place of the church in the social work. Other denominational groups are beginning to take a more active and constructive part in the community's family welfare program. Of greater importance is the fact that actual results are being realized from using the church more effectively and intelligently in plans for families.

The work of the Parent-Teachers' Association's Shoe and Clothing Committee as well as that of the Public School Milk Program have been closely co-ordinated with the work of the private agency. Time will not permit going into detail regarding these steps. Suffice it to say they have opened up new fields to which family welfare work can be interpreted and certainly new approaches have been discovered for interpreting the agencies' program.

Returning to the recent developments with which this paper has dealt almost entirely, one can properly ask whether the so-called merger is temporary or permanent.

Prophecy is difficult and dangerous. So many elements can enter into the situation over night, that plans of today may have to be discarded tomorrow. Most of us hope the merger is only temporary. We firmly believe there is a place in the community for a good privately supported family welfare program. Most of us are firmly convinced that the day when the major relief load can be carried by private resources is past. Also, we believe there will be, for several years to come, exceedingly large demands for financial assistance to

many unemployed and partially employed families. If true, there is more reason than ever before for having a well-organized public family welfare organization capable at least of meeting family problems from an economic level in an intelligent and humane way. There will be also more reason than ever before for having a strong private society free to devote its time and energies to meeting other human needs not yet recognized by a majority of the public and to meeting limitations which appear in the public agency's program.

It is sincerely hoped that the steps taken recently will do two things.

1. Develop a good public family welfare program that can approach problems from a level that is understood and will be supported by the majority of the community's citizens.
2. Maintain a nucleus of the more intensive service program of the private agency so that in the future the United Charities can approach family problems from levels less well understood by the majority of citizens. Of course, along with this approach goes research, experimentation, education, and interpretation.

Time will not permit a detailed analysis of all the factors involved in the development of St. Paul's family welfare program, but we can enumerate a few. They are not necessarily listed in the order of their importance.

There is a large and understanding group of citizens interested in family work due largely to:

1. Strong and active boards of directors, the membership of which changes frequently enough to draw into close contact with the organization a large representation of the citizenry.
2. Social workers have been willing to stay out of the limelight and yet exercise real leadership.
3. A belief that it is possible to have as high standards in a public agency as in a private agency.
4. Development of services, such as the Joint Statistical Bureau, to ascertain the real problems before the community.
5. Honesty in relationships between agencies and with the community as a whole.
6. A public organization that is free from sinister political influences and is fairly likely to remain so.
7. Strong citizens committee.

In closing I would like to enumerate certain steps that have been taken or planned to safeguard the program of the private society.

1. The merger is temporary.
2. An advisory committee has been created and will start functioning in the fall.
3. The accounting departments are separate as are the budgets.
4. The private agency board has important and definite responsibilities to carry during the time of the merger.
5. Steps are being taken to develop a means of transfer between the workers on straight relief work and those doing the more intensive case work.
6. Some steps have been taken to interpret recent developments to the public and additional efforts will have to be devoted to this program.
7. Volunteer student training and specialized work with religious groups will be continued.
8. The staff of the private society is being kept intact.

A. A. HECKMAN, *Director of Family Welfare Department*

BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE OF  
ST. PAUL AND RAMSEY COUNTY, MINNESOTA

## HOW MEDICAL CARE SHOULD FIT INTO AN EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAM<sup>1</sup>

THE care of sickness is an essential part of a minimum standard of living. Some public money is spent in normal times for the care of the sick poor in their homes and some public funds are spent for nursing services. The demands increase when more people are unable to pay their own way. The question comes up as to the place of medical care in the emergency relief program, now administered, as it is, mostly by public funds.

Medical care ties up very intimately with food, shelter, and other essential bases of life. The care of the acutely and dangerously sick no one expects to be denied. In care for the less acute cases, the emergency has often forced curtailment upon the agencies normally dealing with medical care.

In facing the increased need we should not lose sight of the fact that even before the depression there were considerable unmet needs—no care or inadequate care. The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care found that half of the people with incomes of \$2,000 or less—that is, half of the population of the United States—went through the year without medical care. Of those with incomes of \$3,000 to \$5,000 only one-quarter, and of those with incomes of \$10,000 and up, only one out of seven received no medical attention. Yet medical needs are about the same for all people irrespective of income.

Medical care furnished to the poor in their homes by public relief authorities has generally been on a very inadequate basis—given only in case of grave illness and only in case of the “certified poor” as distinguished from those who are just poor.

The situation of our publicly supported hospitals has been involved in the same way as other public institutions. Of the voluntary institutions which provide the bulk of general hospital care, many have been forced to reduce the amount of unpaid services at

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the luncheon meeting of the American Public Welfare Association, Detroit, June 12, 1933.



the time when such services are most needed. We have to a serious degree failed to utilize the expensive facilities of our hospitals, due to inability to meet charges. The problem created by the emergency has accentuated a situation which existed before.

I take it for granted that public funds should be used to furnish care needed in sickness. The practical questions are those of furnishing medical care to people who are not able to meet the cost of it. There are three main forms of medical care to be considered: (1) hospitalization, (2) office or clinic care, (3) care in the homes.

The hospitalization problem is a very difficult one. Hospitals have a way of eating up money. Logically it seems to me to make no difference what the form of medical care, whether it is administered in the hospital, office, clinic, or the home. If it is important to pay for one, why not for the other?

The voluntary hospital very greatly needs support which apparently can only come from a sickness insurance scheme, or from tax funds. Larger use of tax funds for hospital care will certainly be necessary as a future public policy. As an emergency measure, tax funds must be spent under restrictions imposed by the immediate situation.

Hospitalization for sick people who cannot be given proper care in their homes and who cannot meet the costs of hospital service is generally regarded as a responsibility of the community. City and county hospitals are maintained by many local governmental units. Some states also support general hospitals. In a few states and a considerable number of cities and counties, tax grants are made to non-governmental general hospitals for the care of those persons who are regarded as public charges. The use of local tax funds for hospital service is, generally speaking, an accepted public policy in the United States. The use of state funds for such purposes is exceptional. There is no logical reason why public relief funds from state or federal sources should not be utilized for making up a deficiency in local relief funds for hospital care, but the demands upon federal relief funds for hospital service, if a policy of subsidizing local hospitals were adopted, would be likely to be extensive and open to abuse. From the long-range point of view, emphasis upon two points is essential: (1) the care of sickness among the poor is a com-

munity responsibility; (2) the support of hospitals necessary for the care of the poor is a community obligation. Voluntary hospitals have generally depended upon receipts from patients supplemented by a very few rich givers. Uncle Sam as a temporary giver may obscure, rather than enforce, the obligations which the local community should assume. From the immediate point of view, however, there are localities in which the very existence of hospital service is threatened and for which Uncle Sam's purse seems the only present resource.

The question of medical care in the home seems to me a most pressing one, and I should like to summarize my views with especial reference to this matter.

1. The care of sickness is an essential part of a minimum standard of living.
2. In the relief of the unemployed and destitute in their homes, public relief funds should be used to provide care by physicians and nurses.
3. Physicians and nurses should be paid for such services.
4. Funds for this purpose should be granted only when physicians and nurses are appointed under conditions which insure responsibility to the agency administering relief and adequate supervision of the professional services rendered.
5. Supervision of the medical work requires a supervisory body or committee of physicians.
6. Such a committee should be appointed by the relief agency and its duties should include:
  - a) Nomination of the medical personnel to care for the sick in their homes, outlining the conditions under which appointments should be made (these conditions may, depending upon local circumstances, include civil service requirements).
  - b) Supervision of the records of physicians from a medical standpoint.
  - c) Dealing with complaints regarding the work of physicians.
7. In the appointment of a medical advisory committee, the relief agency should turn, in the first instance, to the County Medical Society of the locality, should confer with its representatives and request nominations for the committee. Appointments should be made from these nominations by the relief agency, provided, however, that the relief agency should hold itself free to appoint additional physicians who are not members of the County Medical Society, in communities where a substantial number of licensed physicians are not members.
8. In large communities, where a considerable number of physicians are engaged to give home service, the medical advisory committee will require a salaried physician on part or full time, in order to make its work effective

in supervising and maintaining the quality of service and in dealing with the administrative details affecting the professional work.

9. The manner of remuneration of physicians furnishing home service will vary with local conditions. A fee basis will be suitable in many localities; a salary basis in some sections. Where a fee schedule is used, relief agencies and the medical advisory committee may be assisted by the fee schedule already in use in that state or locality in industrial compensation cases. Such schedules cannot be adopted, however, without consideration of their applicability to the particular conditions under which the relief work will be done.
10. Nursing service in the homes should be organized in conjunction with the medical services. Grants of funds to nursing service should be only through the organized nursing agencies of the locality. Payments should be made on a visit basis. In large communities, a special nursing adviser, or an advisory committee of nurses may be necessary to define the types of cases for which nursing service should be furnished, and other administrative questions.
11. Necessary medicines should be provided as part of the home medical care of the sick. Such medicines should not be dispensed by physicians except when local conditions, as in rural areas, render this necessary. In such localities, provision should be made for paying the physician for medicines dispensed. Under all other circumstances, necessary medicines should be furnished on the written prescription of physicians, through arrangements made by the relief agency with local pharmacists or associations of pharmacists at specified rates for various types of prescriptions, with provision for proper checks and accounting safeguards.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS, *Director for Medical Services*

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND  
CHICAGO

## EMERGENCY CONSERVATION CAMPS<sup>1</sup>

**E**MERGENCY conservation work is a concept of President Roosevelt. So far as I know it is original with him. I do know that it is one of his dearest projects. Emergency conservation work is founded upon the sound principle of preservation and improvement of our natural resources. It is not a haphazard plan so far as our forest services are concerned. The National Park Service and the National Forest Service have matured these plans with the purpose to execute them over a period of years. The difference, now, is that the plans are telescoped into two or three years.

The President understands as we do that emergency conservation comprehends not only the development of natural resources, but the conservation of social values. He is interested that this movement should provide means of self-support, through their own efforts, for those young men who have had no chance to get a start in life during this depression.

When it was announced that this bill had been signed on March 31 and that there would be available 250,000 jobs for unemployed men, it was not at once known who would be eligible for employment or the process by which application might be made. Rumors spread. Literally hundreds of thousands of men moved forward to seek opportunity in this work. It was necessary to announce very specifically what the regulations were to be. It was necessary to devise some plan whereby there should be a selection of those eligible, of those to be helped, and avoidance of the disappointment there would be if everybody felt free to apply and only 10 per cent could possibly be employed.

During the four years of the depression hundreds of thousands of young men have arrived at working age and found all doors leading to employment locked against them. We concluded that the youth of this country, coming of working age, and not able to make their start in life, should have the first chance. It seemed to us to be de-

<sup>1</sup> Informal speech made at the meeting of the American Public Welfare Association at Detroit, June 13, 1933; this report is based on stenographic notes.

sirable that those selected should be unmarried men from eighteen to twenty-five whose outlook had been tinged with disappointment. It was so arranged.

There has been no sign of protest from any organization as to the preferred enrolment of young men selected from families who are in receipt of public aid. Frankly, so far as I am personally concerned, I was not in favor of reserving this opportunity for those from families in receipt of public aid. But we could not do otherwise and avoid the public assemblage of those seeking to apply. Ideally, there should have been an equal division between those and young men of families unemployed, but self-sustaining.

Here is John Jones, high-school student, ambitious—family in receipt of public aid. Henry Smith, same kind of boy—comes from family about to become dependent. If you cannot take both, which would you take? Frankly, in every community there are enough boys from families already dependent eligible for these jobs. I do not believe that these local committees took boys because by taking them they diminished the number on relief. Every report indicates intense interest in selecting the boys who would profit most from the experience.

In the selection of these men, the Department of Labor, utilizing local committees, has taken representatives from every township in the United States. The army of these young men thus enrolled is a representative cross-section of American young manhood. They are looked upon in each community from which they have departed as the personal representatives of that community. We do not dare under those conditions to forget the social values and the social factors involved in this great enterprise. Those boys must return in vigorous health with ambition stimulated.

I should have told something of the organization of this work. It is set up under the Director of Conservation Work, who has the assistance of members of an advisory council who represent the four federal departments co-operating, viz: War, Labor, Agriculture, and Interior.

The work to be done in the forests is not in great degree the planting of trees. Mostly it is protective and culture work—building roads and building fire lanes, cutting timber that is valueless, etc.

All this requires technical supervision which is provided by representatives of the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service.

It is important to speak of the work of the army in this enterprise. It is not a military enterprise, but the army is an essential factor in the conduct of the plan. We were without a system for the reception of these men. The army had in its recruiting service such a system. The men must be prepared physically for their work. This required the services of an organization that did not exist except in the military régime. Housing in the camps could only be supplied by the army. Administration of the field services, supplies, and transportation—the army alone could supply. The army has discharged all its duties in the finest spirit.

The success of the enrolment of these men has raised the question of using the conservation program for other classes of dependents. It was not possible, in our judgment, to include transients in this particular enterprise. In the first place, the enrolment was to endure for only six months; and in the second place the compensation was subsistence plus \$30 a month; and in the third place the enrolment was upon a quota basis in proportion to population.

This program could not have been carried through without the aid of unemployment relief committees throughout these United States. Without exception the state and local agencies which have selected these men have done so with the deepest interest and with complete understanding of the purpose to be served. The army has expressed not only astonishment but admiration that there have been selected and presented 250,000 men since the first of April. As a matter of fact, 200,000 were enrolled in the last twenty-five days, through the voluntary service of the emergency relief committees throughout the country.

W. FRANK PERSONS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

### PRESIDENTIAL GREETINGS, REPORT OF DIRECTOR, AND COMMITTEE REPORTS

THE American Public Welfare Association held its annual meeting at Detroit this year from June 11 to 17, holding joint sessions with Division IX (Administration of Public Social Work), and with Division IV (The Family) of the National Conference of Social Work; and with the Family Welfare Association of America. In addition the Association held a separate luncheon and dinner meeting, and its annual business meeting.<sup>1</sup>

As was true last year, the major topic of discussions was unemployment, but this year federal relief had taken the center of the stage although many state developments had also taken place since the last conference. These developments, both national and state, have greatly increased the demands made upon the Association and enlarged its opportunities for service.

In presenting a report of activities for the previous year the director, Frank Bane, said:

It has been estimated, perhaps conservatively, that there are approximately four million families in America under the care of welfare and relief organizations and that approximately one billion dollars was expended last year for the relief of destitution. This is not an acute temporary problem which will soon be solved, but it is a social and economic disaster, the effects of which will be felt for many years to come. Governments have become increasingly aware of this fact, and have become increasingly interested in making reasonable provision to provide properly for those in need. It has been the privilege of this Association to assist in this development and to contribute, we hope, materially to the effective handling of perhaps the most serious problem that has ever confronted this country.

<sup>1</sup> These papers are given in full with the exception of the Wednesday meeting of Division IX, which is expected to appear in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*. This meeting included: "Problems in the Administration of a Joint Plan of Family Case Work and Unemployment Relief," by Edward D. Lynde, Associated Charities, Cleveland, Ohio; "The Use of Cash, Orders for Goods, or Relief in Kind in a Mass Program," by Dorothy C. Kahn, Director, Philadelphia County Relief Board; and "Conceptions as to the Primary Grant," by Frederick I. Daniels, Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, New York City.



## PRESIDENTIAL GREETINGS

The constantly deepening depression and resulting destitution which marked the winter just past has vastly augmented the work and responsibilities of the American Public Welfare Association.

While placing emphasis on the long-time program, the Association has maintained a very active interest in problems connected with unemployment relief, particularly in its public aspects, and has given all possible assistance to governmental agencies in formulating programs and setting up organizations to handle relief.

In view of the policy of the new Federal Emergency Relief Administration that all persons directly connected with the administration of relief programs financed by federal funds must be public officials, the potential membership of the Association has increased tremendously, and it will be a challenge to the Association to add them to the fold.

In recognition of the need to provide a forum for a free discussion on current problems of governmental and private agencies charged with the task of administering relief, the Association called a conference on the maintenance of welfare standards. The call was issued by the Association, with the co-operation of the Public Administration Clearing House, and the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago.

This conference adopted reports of its committees intended to clarify thought and action as to the need and means for providing adequate relief for the millions now destitute, as to the immediate organization of administration of adequate relief in such manner that present efficiency and future progress may be best assured, as to the provision of financial resources in such manner as to conserve the adequacy of all necessary governmental services and to protect the broad aspects of community well-being, and as to the care of homeless and transient persons in co-ordinated services with comprehensive and adequate results.

It is gratifying to record that the results of this conference have been effective and far-reaching.

With the building up of an effective organization by the federal government to secure advanced standards in the administration of relief in the various states, it will be possible to curtail somewhat the Association's work with regard to the relief program and to concentrate more on the long-time program.

It may not be amiss to restate the Association's fundamental objectives which are: education of the public regarding the fundamental importance of public welfare work in present-day government; development

and maintenance of high standards in public welfare work; providing consultant and advisory service regarding welfare matters to states, counties, and cities, to public welfare departments, officials, institutions, and agencies, and to governmental research organizations and institutions; collecting and making available information and reports relative to the administration, activities, and functions of public welfare departments, organizations, and agencies; acting as a medium of communication for public welfare officials, institutions, and agencies; promoting in co-operation with schools, colleges, and universities training for public welfare administration; and promoting the correlation of the work of various agencies now in the public welfare field.

The Association has been very fortunate throughout the past year under the leadership of its Executive Director, Hon. Frank Bane, former Commissioner of Public Welfare for the State of Virginia, and the able men and women who have been associated on his staff. They have given unstinted service, not only to the states and municipalities who called upon them for advice and help, but have been called upon repeatedly for advisory services with the Federal Relief Administration and with volunteer agencies in this field. The co-operative relationship with the group of agencies interested in governmental administration who make their headquarters in Chicago has been developed during the year that has past and promises well for the enlarged services of the public welfare group in the future. The American Public Welfare Association fills a long-felt need in interpreting policies in this important branch of governmental activity. It has had a generous financial support and has made effective use of the funds which have been made available for promoting the objectives of the Association under competent leadership. It has been a real satisfaction to me to have served the Association for two years as president and to have shared in some degree in the development of the plans and policies which are being so capably directed by Mr. Bane.

WILLIAM J. ELLIS, *Commissioner*

NEW JERSEY STATE DEPARTMENT OF  
INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES  
TRENTON

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#### REPORT OF DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION, JUNE 13, 1933

The year 1932-33 has been an eventful one in the field of public welfare. The continued depression has made necessary the expansion of wel-

fare and relief activities on a national scale, and the American Public Welfare Association has consequently been unusually busy assisting governmental organizations with their administrative problems.

From September, 1931, until April, 1932, the Association maintained offices and a field staff in Washington, where it co-operated with the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief in its efforts to mobilize relief agencies and activities in the country. In April, 1932, the offices of the Association were moved to Chicago, and the staff was reduced to a director, an assistant, and necessary stenographic services. It soon became apparent, however, that this staff was entirely inadequate to meet the demands made upon the Association. With the entrance of the federal government into the relief field through the enactment of the Federal Relief and Construction Act in July, 1932, governors, legislative committees, state and local welfare departments began to request assistance from the Association in planning welfare programs to handle the rapidly increasing need. The shortage of staff became acute, and a temporary additional appropriation was made to the Association in order to employ three field workers until approximately December 1. In January the Carnegie Corporation made a grant to the Association for one year, and four full-time field workers were added to the staff. In addition, temporary services of two additional workers have been secured from time to time.

Although the Association continues to place emphasis on the long-time program, necessarily most of our time has been taken up with problems connected with unemployment relief. The unprecedented increase in public expenditures and the necessary expansion of public agencies have been responsible for great demands upon the Association to aid in developing sound administrative standards of relief. Staff members have visited all but five states during the past year, most of them many times. In some states the field service has been very extensive. In Mississippi one of our representatives was loaned to act as director of the newly created Board of Public Welfare. In Kansas, Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Rhode Island, extensive service was also rendered with reference to the establishment and development of state-wide welfare and relief organizations. In Texas we were called upon to assist the state in establishing a new organization and getting it under way, and a field representative has been in this state now for more than eight weeks. Service to the states has also included surveys and studies of relief administration, such as a study made in New York, and of general welfare administration including relief, as in New Hampshire, Iowa, Kansas, and Dallas, Texas. Also the drafting of new legislation and the revision of existing statutes

dealing with welfare activities; the planning of relief and welfare programs; the evaluation of department organization and functions; the formulating of administrative policies, rules, and regulations; the securing of qualified personnel; the issuance of reports, publications, etc., on public welfare problems, and the Association has acted as a clearing-house between organizations and departments in the public welfare field and has kept its members advised of welfare movements, trends, activities, etc., in the different parts of the country. It has also attended and participated in conferences of social work and other conferences pertaining to governmental problems in various parts of the country.

The American Public Welfare Association has no established formula applicable to every state seeking advice on the development of state-wide unemployment relief administration, but its counsel has usually taken the following form:

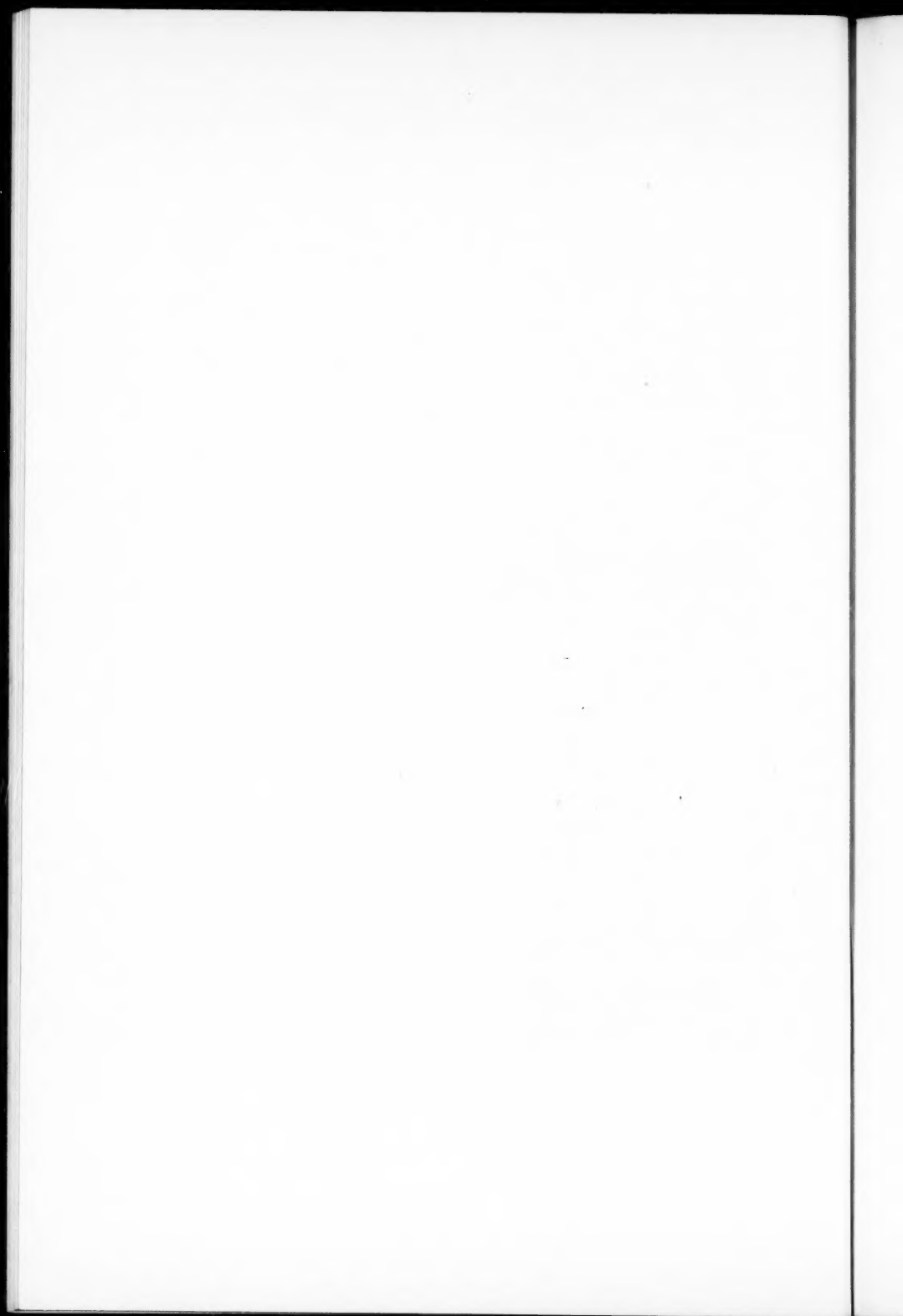
1. Designate or create a state agency for the administration of relief, utilizing the State Welfare Department if at all practicable.
2. Charge this agency with the duty of assembling state-wide data on unemployment, relief needs, and relief expenditures and with directing and supervising the state relief program.
3. Designate or create county units for welfare and relief administration.
4. Insist upon qualified, competent personnel in state and local administration.
5. Avoid subsidizing private agencies with public funds, but emphasize co-ordination of public and private effort.
6. Authorize the state welfare administration to allocate to local units on the basis of their carefully determined needs such state and federal funds as may be available.
7. Make such allocations contingent upon the observance of minimum standards of relief and service as worked out by the State Welfare Administration.
8. Recognize the value of both work relief and direct relief as complementary parts of an adequate program.
9. Accept for state, as such, a proper share of the responsibility for providing necessary funds for relief.
10. Develop and administer relief program in such a manner as to preserve decent living standards for the unemployed.<sup>1</sup>

The staff has participated in fifteen state conferences of social work and many others, local or national in character. Recognizing the importance of stressing the proper administration of relief on a national basis, the Association, soon after the enactment of the Federal Relief and Construction Act, in co-operation with the Public Administration Clearing

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from *The Survey*, February, 1933.



FRANK BANE  
Director, American Public Welfare Association



House and the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, called a conference in Chicago for the discussion of welfare standards. In attendance were representatives of governmental and private agencies charged with the administering of relief and service. This conference adopted reports and resolutions intended to clarify thought and action as to need and means of providing necessary relief for the millions of destitute families, as to the proper organization of administrative machinery, as to the provision of financial resources in such manner as to conserve necessary governmental services and protect the broad aspects of community well-being, and as to the care of homeless and transient persons throughout the country. The results of this conference have been effective and far-reaching.<sup>2</sup>

In February a small one-day conference was held in Nashville, Tennessee, with representatives from the southern states in attendance, and was devoted to the particular problems of that region.

Several issues of *Public Welfare News* have been published; a bulletin on *Old Age Security and Unemployment Insurance*; a report on the Chicago Conference on *Maintenance of Welfare Standards* was issued both in mimeographed and printed form, and bulletins on federal and state legislation and other matters of interest to welfare organizations and agencies were issued. The *Social Service Review* for September, 1932, was devoted to the annual proceedings of the American Public Welfare Association. Articles have been written for the *American Municipal Review*, *State Government*, the *Social Service Review*, *The Survey*, *Public Management*, and other publications. Members of the staff have participated in numerous radio broadcasts sponsored by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, and also by the University of Chicago.

Through the various governmental associations affiliated with the University of Chicago and through the very valuable co-operation and assistance of the School of Social Service Administration of the University, the American Public Welfare Association has been enabled to broaden the scope of its service to public welfare organizations and governmental agencies generally. Close contacts have also been maintained throughout the year with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the United States Children's Bureau, the Association of Community Chests and Councils, the American Red Cross, the Family Welfare Association of America, and other welfare and social work organizations.

The new Federal Emergency and Relief Act, passed last month and

<sup>2</sup>[Proceedings of the Chicago Conference on Relief Standards were published in *Social Service Review*, VI, 592-612.]



now being administered by Harry Hopkins as Federal Relief Administrator, contains most of the principles which have been urged by this Association. The act recognizes the relief of unemployment as a national problem and it also recognizes the responsibility of the federal government to directly assist the various states in the handling of this problem. It also provides for federal administration of federal funds and gives to the administrator broad authority in the development of welfare organizations throughout the country and in the maintenance of welfare and relief standards.

It has been estimated, perhaps conservatively, that there are approximately four million families in America under the care of welfare and relief organizations and that approximately one billion dollars was expended last year for the relief of destitution. This is not an acute temporary problem which will soon be solved, but it is a social and economic disaster, the effects of which will be felt for many years to come. Governments have become increasingly aware of this fact, and have become increasingly interested in making reasonable provision to provide properly for those in need. It has been the privilege of this Association to assist in this development and to contribute, we hope, materially to the effective handling of perhaps the most serious problem that has ever confronted this country.

CHICAGO

FRANK BANE

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#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DEVELOPING AND PROTECTING PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS IN PUBLIC WELFARE WORK

The report of last year (1932) contained a brief statement of principles. It was more restricted than the title necessarily implied, for while the entire practice of public social work should be measured by professional standards, and relief should be measured by the standard budget and include the essential elements of adequate family life, the attention of the Association was called only to the importance of securing and retaining qualified personnel in public positions. A brief excerpt is quoted from that statement as formulating the creed to which the Association is committed:<sup>1</sup>

No one is competent to engage in public social work who does not understand the methods of organization, control, and administration of public social services. Anything less than a thorough knowledge of social case work, social re-

<sup>1</sup> *Social Service Review*, VI, No. 3 (September, 1932), 490.

search and social economics, and the history of social experimentation means that the community suffers because of this lack. This means, of course, professional training in a school of social work.

This view was confirmed in emphatic terms by the Conference on Relief Standards for which this Association together with two other groups (the Public Administration Clearing House and the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago) were responsible, which was held in Chicago November 18, 19, and 20, 1932. In the words of that Conference:<sup>2</sup>

Public welfare administration is a technical function of government and includes types of services which require properly prepared, qualified personnel.

Personnel standards are a primary concern of all state and local welfare systems and can best be attained by stressing education and experience rather than residence.

It is, however, obvious that this is a needlessly restricted view, and in the following statement reference will be made not merely to the qualifications of workers entering the practice of public welfare but the equally important principle of providing such conditions of employment as make increasingly possible the practice of sound public social service and adequate pay, recognition of service by advancement and promotion, vacations, participation in the control, and so forth. These are features characteristic of professional practice in any field.

In reviewing the experience of the past year, the Committee would call attention to two contradictory influences:

First, the effect of the depression in many of the states has been in the direction of cutting down services so as to render impossible competent social work and to create conditions in which standards of work are steadily depressed. No comprehensive statement including the developments in all the jurisdictions of which this can be truthfully said can be made, but a few illustrations will suffice, and the information with reference to the jurisdictions included in the statement can possibly be supplemented by the experience of many members of this organization.

One of the disastrous effects is the radical reduction in services, the scattering of staffs, the injection of fear and apprehension. The experience of the Ohio Department of Welfare can be cited in the terms of the report for the year 1932, a report which is strengthened and accentuated by the experiences related in the succeeding report, of which an advance copy has been graciously supplied.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 4 (December, 1932), 605.

The General Assembly in 1931 appropriated for the Division of Charities \$347,232 for the biennium ending December 31, 1932. Because of retrenchment ordered by the Director of Finance, the Division expended \$313,482, or 90.2 per cent.

Late in 1932 the Division of Charities submitted a budget for 1933-1934 amounting to \$287,825, or 8.2 per cent less than expenditures for 1931-1932. This budget was approved by the Director of the Department of Public Welfare and then transmitted to the Budget Division of the Department of Finance.

The Executive Budget submitted by the Governor to the General Assembly, as prepared by the Department of Finance, reveals that it contains the recommendation that only \$160,000 be appropriated—a slash of 44.5 per cent from the amount requested.

Further to complicate matters, the partial appropriation bill—supposed to finance the Division for six months—contained only \$25,000 for the Division of Charities.

Under these adverse conditions, radical action toward adjustment had to be taken. On March 16, out of a regular staff of 61 persons, 18 were given an indefinite leave of absence without pay and 28 were placed on staggered employment ranging from one-fifth to one-half time. This skeleton organization must continue until the general appropriation bill is enacted. Even then, if the amount recommended in the Executive Budget is not materially increased, the customary services heretofore rendered by the Division will be decreased in some directions and entirely suspended in other.

This existing and impending breakdown of service is in the face of the fact that the Division of Charities now has under its legal guardianship and control 1265 dependent and 1466 crippled children. These serious legal responsibilities cannot be honorably abandoned in a fortnight.

The officers and staff of the Division of Charities are not entirely selfish in their attitude to this situation. They have taken, heretofore, reduced salaries and reduced mileage allowances for use of automobiles with a patriotic attitude. [Is an allowance of 4 cents a mile for use of automobile evidence of an extravagant régime?] They are still willing to take their just share in any universal plan for economy in State government but it is hard to understand why the Division of Charities is slashed nearly half while the entire Executive Budget shows a reduction of less than 20 per cent from the combined departmental requests.<sup>3</sup>

The Oregon legislature, too, appropriated<sup>4</sup> for the 1929-30 biennium \$26,983.10 for administrative work of the Child Welfare Commission. For the biennium 1931-32, the appropriation figure was \$26,879, itemized as follows:

Salaries and wages.....	\$20,412
General expense.....	6,217
Capital outlay.....	250

<sup>3</sup> *Ohio Welfare Bulletin*, Serial No. 45 (March, 1933) X, No. 2, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Statement by Louise Cottrell, Oregon Children's Aid Society, June 28, 1933.

The appropriation for the state Child Welfare Commission for the 1933-34 biennium dropped from \$26,879 to \$18,532, itemized as follows:

Salaries and wages.....	\$14,415
General expense.....	5,117
Capital outlay.....	000

One function of the Commission is administration of state aid for care of children in private institutions in cases where children are not committed by courts to institutional care. The state aid total for 1931-32 increased over the preceding biennium and was still increasing at the close of 1932.

The same legislature which reduced the Commission's appropriation to \$18,532 added to the functions of the Commission licensing of boarding homes for children in Multnomah County. This county includes the city of Portland and represents approximately one-third of the population of Oregon.

Similar developments could be described in many jurisdictions in which the department already established has been tragically truncated and depleted. Nebraska, for example, has suffered and does not stand alone. To cite two other jurisdictions only without giving the details, in both California and New Mexico the appropriations have been radically cut so that it became necessary to reduce staffs and to abandon services.

In Tennessee, too, the Welfare Division of the State Department of Institutions ceased to exist on May first, except so far as certain services for crippled children and certain aspects of the negro welfare work were enabled to continue for a period at least.

In some jurisdictions the process may be just beginning as the results of the depression are more completely realized.

The secretary of the State Public Welfare Commission of Rhode Island, for example, writes<sup>5</sup> in the following words:

To date, there has been no cut under the guise of economy which has diminished our Social Service; in fact, our activities have increased in scope during the past two years. Neither has there been any change in our standard of personnel. There is at the present time, however, a strong possibility that at the special session of the General Assembly called by the Governor, the salaries of all State Employees will be reduced by 10 per cent. This may have the result of forcing out of public social service work trained workers who are already receiving less than that paid by private agencies. This is problematical at the present time.

The same experiences have affected the agencies in counties and in cities. The salary cuts in Cincinnati (Hamilton County), Ohio, while not

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Hon. T. E. Murphy, secretary, State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations State Public Welfare Commission, June 21, 1933.

applicable to the lowest level, are not inconsiderable, and Philadelphia and Washington are in the same boat.

On the other hand, in facing the catastrophe of the depression, first by the special state appropriation as in New York and New Jersey, and later through the influence of the federal funds, even in the unsatisfactory form provided under the earlier Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, it has happened in a considerable number of states that a state-wide agency has been set up through which reasonably competent professional standards of administration have been formulated and maintained.

One important administrator,<sup>6</sup> for example, comments in the following words:

The social service work in many states and municipalities has not been curtailed but expanded. This situation is true to a great degree in New Jersey and I should say in New York State and probably in most of the seaboard states in this area. In addition, there have been developed with considerable degree of success plans for maintaining standards comparable to those outlined in the report in recruiting the social work groups handling the emergency relief administration in these eastern states and cities. For instances, I would say that the personnel of the relief administration in New Jersey, which is spending between two and three million dollars a month, has been as carefully selected as have workers in Cook County (Chicago). I am of the opinion that this is equally true in all of New England and most of the middle Atlantic States. It would be a mistake to submit samples of the reducing and limiting of social work organizations . . . without going on to show that in a great many jurisdictions the organization has not been seriously limited or reduced, that in many places it has been actually increased, and that in a number of other jurisdictions the social workers connected with emergency relief have been assembled with due regard to reasonable standards of experience and training.

That a comprehensive report would include statements with reference to the experiences of all these jurisdictions goes without saying, and it is hoped that at a future meeting of this Association such a statement may be available either through the channel of this committee or through other channels opened up by the Association to which we look for aid and assistance in assembling and analyzing the data which come all too swiftly for adequate contemporaneous interpretation. At the present moment what seems practicable is the expression of regret that it was not always possible to create for the special emergency relief, either when undertaken by a state authority as in the case of New York or under the pressure of local necessity under a federal authority as in a number of

<sup>6</sup> Letter from Charles P. Messick, May 25, 1933.

jurisdictions, influences which lead to the professionalization of the existing department. This is an occasion for regret and, to an extent, for humiliation on the part of those of us who were already in the field of public social service. It was made obvious during the winters of '31, '32, and '33 that we had failed to convince the states of the soundness of such principles of organization as found expression, for example, in the report of the White House Conference on Child Care and Protection and had been illustrated for considerable periods of time in such states as Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York. New authorities were therefore set up, and possibly as useful a service as this Committee can perform would be that of calling to the attention of the Association and making a record of the methods used in some localities to protect the new services against partisan political abuses. With this in mind, the Committee has obtained one illustrative description of an effective administrative service which, in a great metropolitan area peculiarly the victim of partisan political organizations, has safeguarded the public funds and secured a minimum, at any rate, of genuine service for the hundreds of thousands of persons who were destitute and in need of relief through no fault or deficiency of their own. If this is an experience common to other jurisdictions, as Mr. Messick suggests, it will finally assume additional authority and be the more serviceable in those jurisdictions in which partisan political motives have prevented the application of the same principles.

The following statement was prepared by Professor Harrison Dobbs, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, who is chairman of the Committee on Selection of Personnel of the Advisory Board of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare.

The transfer of responsibility for the granting of relief from private to public funds brought important changes in the administration of relief in Cook County. By an act of legislature approved February 6, 1932, the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission was created "to provide relief to residents of the State of Illinois who, by reason of unemployment or otherwise, are destitute or are in necessitous circumstances."<sup>7</sup> According to the provisions of this Act, relief, for which State funds are to be expended, may be provided in such form and in such manner as the Commission may deem advisable. The Act appropriated \$20,000,000 to the Commission for the purpose of carrying out its provisions and indicated that the Commission might designate such agents as it deems proper and fit to act for it to continue until March 1, 1933.

This new publicly created and supported commission was to carry on the services of the privately constituted Joint Emergency Relief Fund of Cook County, which had been created earlier to raise a fund by public subscription

<sup>7</sup> *First Interim Report of the Illinois Relief Commission*, April 15, 1932. p. 4.

for emergency relief purposes for the winter of 1931-32 and to distribute that fund among the established relief and charitable agencies of Chicago in proportion to their emergency needs.<sup>8</sup> The exhaustion of the private funds and the magnitude of the new public responsibility made necessary the establishment of new policies in the distribution of public relief.

The Commission adopted such policies, which may be briefly stated as follows:<sup>9</sup>

1. The Commission will not administer relief directly, nor establish new and additional machinery to do so, but will operate through local agents of its selection and appointment. Wherever possible, these agents shall be selected from the local established relief agencies, and where satisfactory standards of relief administration are maintained the relief from the State funds shall be administered by the public agency.

2. In making allocations of State funds, the county shall be the territorial unit for purposes of allocations and administration of relief extended on account of such allocations.

3. Applications to the Commission for relief shall be made through official action of the County Board of Supervisors or County Board of Commissioners as the case may be, except where, for any reason, the County Board does not take such official action, and need for relief is apparent, then application may be made by any municipal official, qualified relief agency or citizen of the county.

4. The need for State funds in any county shall be established through investigations by field representatives of the Commission, and the presentation by representatives of the local community, which shall take into account the facts with respect to the extent of economic need, and the local financial resources from tax funds and from private sources for relief purposes. Allocations by the Commission shall be made only after the local needs and resources are definitely known and shall supplement the local resources and not supplant them.

5. Allocations for relief in counties shall be made for limited periods of time, usually from month to month, the allocation for each period being made in accordance with the developing degree of need and the quality of administration by the local agent.

6. The Commission will establish rules for local administration of relief with which local agents shall comply in a reasonable manner, with respect to,

- (1) forms of relief,
- (2) basis for relief,
- (3) adequacy of relief,
- (4) the investigation and supervision of families applying for relief, and
- (5) the keeping of records and making of reports as required by the Commission.

Under this new plan for expenditure of public funds it became increasingly apparent that there must be established new standards for staff and adequate methods to assure their prompt and merited selection. The rapid expansion of the relief services of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare which became the chief agent in Chicago for the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission made many new staff appointments immediately necessary. The new members of the staff were paid by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission and were not under

<sup>8</sup> *Report of Joint Emergency Relief Fund*—closing statements of the President, November, 1932.

<sup>9</sup> *First Interim Report of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission*, April 15, 1932. pp. 7-8.



the jurisdiction of the Cook County Civil Service Commission. The increasing pressure upon the director of the Bureau to appoint poorly qualified persons to these important positions indicated that some protective device in selection must be instituted if public funds were to be as efficiently and economically administered as those of private agencies.

The Advisory Board of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, therefore, appointed a committee on personnel. This committee was instructed to determine standards for all appointments to the service and to develop plans for continuous selection on a competitive, merit basis. Minimum standards for each kind of position, based on essential qualifying training and experience, were carefully established, and a special examining committee was appointed to determine the individual fitness of all candidates for all available positions. Unassembled examinations, with objective and standardized grading for education and experience as indicated on formal and certified applications and with a subsequent oral interview to determine the general personality qualifications of each applicant were instituted.

Since June, 1932, all positions, except those of case workers, have been filled with persons who were passed by the Examining Committee. Since December, 1932, all case workers applying have been examined by the Committee, and at the present time all appointments for any service whatsoever must be from the various and continually changing eligible lists of the Committee on Selection of Personnel.

The rapid increase in the number of destitute persons in Cook County has demanded great and immediate staff extension to meet these needs. The Committee on Selection of Personnel has had a difficult time to keep far enough ahead to supply adequately the demand for well qualified case workers, case aides and clerical staff. The patience of the department heads and their fundamental belief in the merits of this plan of selection have carried the Committee through uncertain and strenuous periods with no lowering of standards and with increased regard for the value of the selective service they were attempting to render.

A report<sup>10</sup> of October 1, 1932, indicated 523 case work aides and 310 case workers at that time in the Unemployment Relief Service and the Field Service Division of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare. The general executive office of the Bureau reported on May 9, 1932, that there were 1,301 case work aides and 488 case workers in these same branches. Case aides are selected from intelligent, alert, and educated young people whose training has been in other fields including engineering, law, teaching, business administration, etc. Clerical groups increased proportionately. These figures suggest in some degree the amount of activity and service necessary for satisfactory certification of such workers.

The extent and nature of the work of the Committee on Selection of Personnel

<sup>10</sup> See Helen Jeter, "Salaries and Professional Education of Social Workers in Family Welfare and Relief Agencies in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, VII, No. 2 (June, 1933), 225.

are illustrated further in the report for March, 1933, to the Advisory Board's Committee on Personnel, to which it is administratively responsible. A summary follows:

### I. Case Workers

A. Number passed by the Committee	46	
B. Number interviewed but not completed by Committee (pending the giving of written examinations)	10	
C. Number interviewed but not completed by Committee (pending grading of written examinations)	11	
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TOTAL before Committee		67
D. Number of applications considered by Committee but not interviewed		
1. Pending return of references	21	
2. References still to be called for	4	
3. Pending oral (references complete)		
on April 17	2	
on April 18	9	
on April 21	5	
4. Pending interview after June (qualified students who have filed applications)	6	
TOTAL pending to be completed		47

### II. Case Aides

Number of case aides passed, according to grade:		
70 to 74	38	
75 to 79	87	
80 to 84	93	
85 to 89	42	
90 to 94	7	
95 to 100	0	
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TOTAL		267
Number of those who were clients	63	
Non-clients	194	
Promotional (non-clients)	10	

### III. Clerical

Number of clerical persons passed according to grade:		
70 to 74	60	
75 to 79	76	
80 to 84	104	
85 to 89	64	
90 to 94	17	
95 to 99	4	
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TOTAL		315

Total number of typists	66
stenographers	43
file clerks	73
bookkeepers	53
budget clerks	49
others	29
Number of these who were clients	143
Number of these who were non-clients	172

From March 13 to April 15 there were placed in the service 272 persons; 144 of these were examined during this period; 128 had been passed earlier. Gradual increase in the size of available eligible lists suggests satisfactory headway by the Committee. It allows discriminating selections by the departments, inasmuch as more good candidates are constantly being made available for placement.

All applications are filed at a central office. The secretary of the Committee on Selection of Personnel and other clerical assistants provided by the general business office of the Bureau for this purpose prepare each candidate's application for committee consideration before his oral examination. References are sent for, experience is evaluated, and transcripts of college records for all case workers and case aide applicants are secured. Clerical persons are examined for general mental ability and specific skills in stenography, typing, filing, accounting, etc., by a competent psychologist. Units of the Committee meet at the personnel office four half-days each week and interview each investigated candidate for eligibility and final grading. Until a short time ago selection from eligible lists for actual appointment has been in the hands of the directors of the two departments of the service. Recently a skilled personnel person with social work training has been placed in charge of assignment of personnel and will hereafter specifically designate persons to fill each vacancy.

The Committee has had considerable freedom in establishing its standards and system of grading. A report<sup>11</sup> of the sub-committee of the Illinois Commission on Taxation and Expenditures submitted to the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission included certain general recommendations which have somewhat influenced personnel procedure in general matters, at least:

1. Reduction and standardization of salaries.
2. Not to employ more than one person in a family.
3. Consideration should be given to the payment of rents.
4. Quicker relief to distressed families.
5. No vacations with pay.
6. More thorough investigations to be made so that help is given on a more equal basis.
7. A program to provide work for able bodied persons.
8. The purchase of clothing, coal, groceries, etc., from neighborhood merchants if practicable."

<sup>11</sup> *Third Interim Report of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission*, November 15, 1932, p. 6.

In January, 1933, by resolution of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, to which the Bureau of Public Welfare is administratively responsible, it was decided that only persons who had been receiving relief for a certain period should be eligible for appointment in the Service, case workers only being excepted. After a period of weeks this order was rescinded, although preference for the person on relief continues if his qualifications equal those of non-client applicants. It may be stated that many excellent persons were sent to the Committee by the workers of the relief stations and that such persons are now giving valuable service. The plan failed largely because enough such well-qualified clients were not readily available.

The clerical group, now approximately 1,850, is the largest in the service. The improvement of record and accounting systems and the rapid establishment of new sub stations for relief necessitated wide clerical extension and made imperative the creation of adequate and suitable lists from which satisfactory appointments might be made. Political, neighborhood, and organization pressure directed toward non-merit appointments in this group is always evident. Each member of this examining unit holds a responsible position in the personnel department of an academic, industrial, or commercial concern, and their professional skill, together with the objective results of carefully standardized testing techniques, offered valuable protection. At one period of general re-budgeting in the stations, the personnel department furnished over one hundred examined and qualified clerical persons from its lists at one time for temporary employment.

Standards for case aide selection have been carefully maintained by the Committee. The combined score on education and qualifying experience must equal 70 for passing. The service prefers candidates with gradings of 80 and above, and it is usually possible to secure these better qualified persons for appointment. College graduation is not a requirement, but it is general. Any person may qualify with less academic background if his experience and other training has been particularly satisfactory. The committee has exercised great care to point out to all case aide applicants that these positions are distinctly non-professional in nature and that case aide service is not a way to secure a professional social work position and recognition.

To encourage interest, acceptance of responsibility, and desire for promotion, however, a new classification, emergency worker (with a slightly higher salary), has now been set up in the service at the suggestion of the Personnel Committee of the Advisory Board. Case aides may qualify for promotion to the status of "Emergency Worker" as follows:

- (a) By completion of at least six months of outstanding service as a case aide;  
and
- (b) By demonstration of their capacity for carrying increased responsibilities;  
and
- (c) Upon recommendation of the supervisor of the district or station; and
- (d) If they successfully pass a promotional examination.

It is suggested that there shall be a salary increase which will offer recognition and additional compensation, but which will still be well below that of the professionally trained junior case worker.

The following minimum standards for eligibility for the position of case worker have been accepted and are used in each examination to determine the candidates' qualifications for appointment.<sup>12</sup>

- (a) Any person who has qualifications for membership in the American Association of Social Work; or
- (b) Candidates who have had one quarter of supervised field work in the case work field, provided they are properly endorsed and recommended by the person in charge of supervision of field work at the particular school they attended; or
- (c) Persons who do not qualify in the above two classifications but who have been engaged in social case work, at full time, for over a year, may, upon the written recommendation of the social agency for which they have been working, qualify for the position of case worker on the basis of both an oral and written examination.

This Committee, with co-operation of the agencies and organizations which it represents, has given generously of its time and energy. It feels that the following have been more or less satisfactorily accomplished.

1. Lists of well-qualified candidates have been prepared from which appointments of competent persons are and should continue to be made. This voluntary, centralized selective service has been economical and effective.

2. Selection has been made in every case on a carefully graded merit basis. Outside influences, favorable or unfavorable, have been avoided. Only persons who meet established standards have been included on the eligible lists. The Committee has persistently tried to be fair and uniform in its procedure and policies.

3. Clients, wherever eligible, have been placed in employment as qualified by examination. This service has aided many to make valuable personal readjustments.

4. This Committee with other persons and organizations in the community has recognized the emergency with which the country is dealing. With them, too, it has felt the need of careful safeguards about the work undertaken and about the workers. It has tried to be practical and far-sighted and not too academic in its standards and methods of selection. It is professionally interested in the development and maintenance of public social work programs in the community. Satisfactory selection of all personnel in any relief station becomes, therefore, an important and determining factor in the success or failure of public welfare.

JOSEPH L. MOSS, *Chairman*

COOK COUNTY BUREAU OF PUBLIC WELFARE  
CHICAGO

<sup>12</sup> By ruling of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, residence for one year in Illinois is required.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON REPORTS  
AND STATISTICS<sup>1</sup>

The social and economic upheaval of the last few years which has caused millions of our fellow-citizens to depend upon public relief for support, which has augmented enormously the number of persons touched either directly or indirectly by public and private social welfare activities, anew has brought forcibly to our attention the need for an adequate record of the extent and consequences of these catastrophic events; and reminds us that these facts gathered broadly and objectively should be utilized to furnish the basis for the development of more orderly and intelligent methods of meeting predictable social and economic maladjustments.

The Committee on Reports and Statistics, having no funds at its disposal and relying entirely upon voluntary effort, has not been able to sponsor extensive activities to bring nearer to a realization the program it visions. It has had to content itself with being an active participant in the work of committees of other organizations interested in social welfare statistics and in public welfare reports.

*Unemployment relief statistics.*—In line with one of the points in the Association's recommendations for standards in unemployment relief which makes it incumbent upon the state welfare departments to assemble state-wide data on unemployment, relief needs, and relief expenditures, the Committee was pleased to co-operate with the Committee on Statistics of Relief and Child Care of the American Statistical Association (Neva R. Deardorff, Chairman), which recognized that there was definite need for study and co-ordination of the relief statistics now being compiled in the United States.

Such attempts to collect statistical information have pointed out that standardized definitions of "relief," of "administration," and of similar terms used are greatly needed. As stated by Dr. Deardorff's Committee, "One of the major problems connected with intercommunity comparisons of relief statistics hinges on the interrelationship between the various forms of relief, both institutional and outdoor, and of the outdoor types, the various categorical forms. Owing to the subsidy system which is growing up throughout the United States, there is strong pressure to transfer cases from unsubsidized categories to those which are eligible to receive aid from state and national funds. Figures which do not take this

<sup>1</sup> Committee on Reports and Statistics is composed of the following: A. L. Bowen, Illinois; Agnes K. Hanna, District of Columbia; Emma O. Lundberg, New York; Bennett Mead, District of Columbia; Horatio M. Pollock, New York; Elizabeth Yerxa, Wisconsin; and Emil Frankel, New Jersey.

situation into consideration are apt to be misleading when used for intercommunity comparisons of relief expenditures."

It was recognized that state welfare departments are now setting up statistical series on relief which will undoubtedly persist for a long time and that every effort should be put forward to see that these systems are established on a sound basis. This is an opportunity which offers a fertile field of activity for the whole Association as well as for this Committee. The close and cordial relations existing between the Association and the newly created Federal Emergency Relief Administration augurs well for the success of this undertaking.

*Child welfare statistics.*—Our Committee was glad actively to participate in the work of the Advisory Committee on Child Welfare Statistics of the United States Children's Bureau, through which it is hoped to correlate existing statistical studies in the field, to secure advice in connection with general policies of the social registration project, and to give specific consideration to the items of greatest importance to be collected and to the schedules to be used. It is planned to develop a handbook on child welfare statistics containing suggestions for basic records and statistics similar to those worked out in the fields of public health nursing and medical social service.

Together with representatives of the United States Bureau of the Census, the United States Children's Bureau, and of various statistical committees, including ours, a conference was held in the Children's Bureau in Washington given over to a discussion of policies to be recommended in taking the 1933 decennial census of dependent and neglected children under institutional and other special care.

Our Committee is co-operating with the Committee on Statistics of Relief and Child Care of the American Statistical Association and the Advisory Committee on Statistics of the New York State Department of Social Welfare in working out an approved system for recording data with regard to child care in institutions and agencies in New York State. Appropriate forms for reporting, to the State Department of Social Welfare, the children taken under care and changes in their status while under care, have already been developed and a report is planned which will cover (1) all the forms to be used in reporting to the state by these agencies; i.e., on individual children, on monthly movement of population, and on annual income, expense, and property transactions; and (2) the tables to be compiled from the data collected on these forms.

With the increasing extension of public welfare services there has also grown the desire for means of appraising public welfare administration.



An attempt to develop for community problems of child care an appraisal form similar to that used by the American Public Health Association for the appraisal of health work has been seriously discussed by the Committee on Statistics of Relief and Child Care of the American Statistical Association with our Committee participating. It was the consensus of opinion that while in the beginning such an appraisal form would necessarily be somewhat embryonic in character, it was an important subject and that a beginning should be made.

*General hospital statistics.*—In connection with the New York State projects in registration of social statistics, this Committee together with the Committee on Institutional Care of the American Statistical Association (Horatio M. Pollock, Chairman) and the Committee on Hospital Statistics of the American Hospital Association has prepared hospital discharge schedules to be used by a small group of general hospitals in two of the larger cities of New York State. This schedule is designed primarily to show in addition to the usual identifying data regarding hospital patients, economic status of the patient, the preliminary and final diagnosis of his condition, the general nature of treatment, length of stay of patient, and condition at discharge.

*Criminal statistics.*—The Committee was happy to co-operate with the Law Institute of the Johns Hopkins University (Leon C. Marshall, Director) in its efforts to work out "simple, inexpensive, readily mastered techniques, to secure a dependable, objective, generalized knowledge of a considerable part of the happenings in the trial courts"; and to extend the range of worth-while criminal statistics to include the activities of the police, the prosecutor, the grand jury, the probation and parole authorities, the jail and prison authorities, and the other agencies connected with the administration of criminal justice.

In connection with the 1933 Prison Congress, this Committee is working with the Committee on Criminal Statistics of the American Prison Association (Edwin H. Sutherland, Chairman) in developing a program for the discussion of questions such as (1) For what purposes or occasions are statistical reports made in penal and correctional institutions? (2) What statistical studies are made for administrative purposes and is there a need for more statistical studies for administrative purposes? (3) What facilities exist for statistical work and in what respects should these facilities be improved? (4) Is there value in a long-time series of statistical tables which show trends, and for standardized forms that make possible comparisons of institutions?

*National census of institutional population.*—Together with the Com-

mittee on Institutional Statistics of the American Statistical Association, this Committee co-operated with the United States Bureau of the Census in the development of new and improved statistical schedules for use in the preparation of current and future reports of the Census Bureau, particularly on penal and correctional institutions, hospitals and institutions for mental and nervous diseases, and institutions for the mentally deficient and epileptic.

*General social welfare statistics.*—Our Association and this Committee are participating in a three-year demonstration project in social statistics carried on by the Research Bureau of the New York State Department of Social Welfare which aims to establish the best methods of providing accurate information on the operation of social welfare agencies throughout the state. The results of this demonstration are expected to show what use is being made of public funds, the amount and kind of services provided by public and private agencies, and the distribution of the costs of such services between the agency groups.

Ostensibly as an economic measure a legislative bill introduced into the Pennsylvania Legislature (fortunately not approved) proposed to co-ordinate all of the social statistics collected by the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare in another department of the state government. Asked by the Pennsylvania Secretary of Welfare for an expression of opinion regarding this proposal, I have written on behalf of the Committee as follows:

I do not believe that social welfare statistics can be successfully handled by a central statistical agency remote from the administrative agency having the immediate supervision of the social welfare institutions and agencies which are to furnish the basic statistical data. The gathering of statistics and information on social welfare and institutional problems is not just a matter of drawing up certain forms to be filled in by the institutions and agencies and the figures gathered then to be compiled by the central statistical agency in a routine fashion, without adequate analysis and interpretation.

Compilation of social welfare statistics is intimately tied up with the administrative work of the welfare department itself and of its component welfare institutions and agencies; and if an advanced administrative and preventive welfare program is to be drawn up and carried out it must be based upon the information gathered through the day by day experience of the various institutions and agencies.

The administrator of the welfare department, having the responsibility under the law to manage the affairs of the department and the supervised institutions and agencies in a most economical manner, and being further charged with the duty of devising methods whereby problems of mental disease and deficiency,

delinquency and dependency arising in the community may be brought under some measure of social control, must have immediate supervision over the compilation of social statistics so as to enable him to secure the necessary statistical tools quickly and comprehensively.

I believe that if the ends of economy are to be served in the statistical work of the State Government of Pennsylvania through the creation of a central statistical agency, it would be far better to create an informal statistical board on which the different state departments would be represented. Such a board could make a careful analysis of the statistical work now carried on by the various departments of the state government and—1. Determine if there is any overlapping. 2. See how the statistics of one department are related to all the others. 3. Draw up a plan for bringing about a general unity into the statistical work of the entire state government.

*Future activities of committee.*—Regarding the future activities of this Committee, it seems to be the opinion of its members that we should continue our co-operation with committees of other organizations which are dealing with social welfare statistics in their more technical aspect, that we should promote in every feasible way co-operation with state and federal agencies in the preparation of social welfare statistics, and that perhaps one of the major functions of this Committee should be to keep in the closest touch with all the newer developments in the reporting of social statistics to state departments or other central agencies of public welfare and through the field staff of the Association stimulate the use of adequate methods of social accounting.

This social accounting might find its expression in studies grouped around the following themes:

1. Studies to furnish a basis for determining general state policy in relation to the operation and future planning of state and local social welfare institutions and agencies.
2. Studies to test the effectiveness of the institutional administration, medical organization and procedure, training program, etc., to furnish a basis for corrective action by the state welfare department and component institutions and agencies, and for the establishment of state policies.
3. Studies incorporating the results of statistical inquiries concerning the personal characteristics of the individuals seeking institution and agency care and of the individual and social causative factors involved, in order to outline workable preventive action.
4. Studies of social conditions in local communities to discover situations making for dependency, delinquency, and mental and physical defectiveness, the studies to result in the outlining of remedial action and a program for the development of local social and health resources for preventive efforts.

*State welfare department's responsibility.*—The Committee recognizes that the key to the development of comprehensive social work statistics in the United States lies in the hands of state departments of welfare, for the following reasons:

1. In most states the state department of welfare is legally authorized to require that reports and statistics be kept and furnished currently by public and private social work organizations.
2. Because of legal supervisory powers the state department of welfare has close relations with the work of state-owned institutions and agencies as well as with the work of local public and private social work institutions and agencies throughout the state.
3. Local public and private social service agencies look to the state department of welfare for leadership in social welfare matters.
4. The state department of welfare has the outlook and the resources to stimulate uniform record-keeping and statistics on a state-wide basis.
5. The state department of welfare is the logical unit through which agreements regarding standardized social work statistics may be reached with other states, acting through the medium of a federal agency.

In concluding this report I should like to call attention to the fact that a most challenging task awaits our Association—that of helping to point the way toward methods which will weld together tellingly the deeply significant social facts that have grown out of our relief efforts in the present economic crisis, and to utilize them as a basis for constructive social action.

It would seem advisable for the Association to lend its best efforts and give some measure of financial support to an undertaking of this sort. This Committee regards it as an unprecedented opportunity in an unprecedented situation.

EMIL FRANKEL, *Chairman*

NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES  
TRENTON

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#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE PROBLEMS

The continuance of the depression during the past year has emphasized more than ever before the need for improved relationships between the welfare departments of the different states. The volume of cases requiring interstate consideration has greatly increased—both in relation to families and the problem of the transient and homeless.

The National Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless has promulgated a program establishing standards in relation to the care of the transient and homeless. This Committee is not wholly in accord with the philosophy of the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless regarding the greater responsibility for service in the communities in which such persons are found. If it can be established that such persons have legal claims for support in another state, this Committee believes that in general they should be sent to the place where they belong and where the necessary service or support should be given. The fundamental principle governing the service and support of such cases appears to this Committee to be no different than that governing cases of families. Adequate service and support should of course be given during investigation.

The proposed act relating to interstate transportation of poor and indigent persons referred in 1931 to the Committee on Scope and Program of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws received consideration at the National Conference of the Commissioners held in Washington, October, 1932, and it was voted to refer the matter for further consideration to the Committee on Compacts and Agreements Between the States. Therefore, until such time as the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws takes definite action, this Committee cannot readily proceed very far in attempting to carry out the full program outlined in its initial report presented at Minneapolis, in 1931.

In December, 1932, at a conference on interstate problems held at the state capitol, Concord, New Hampshire, the representatives of the state public welfare departments of the New England states gave consideration to the reports of this Committee, and it was voted:

To recommend legislation that will authorize State Boards of Public Welfare or corresponding state agencies to enter into reciprocal agreements with corresponding agencies of other states and to arrange with their local or county boards for the acceptance and support of persons receiving public aid in other states in accordance with the terms of such reciprocal agreements.

Subsequently a bill was considered by the New Hampshire Legislature which resulted in the passage of an act relating to interstate transportation of poor and indigent persons in which it was provided in relation to reciprocal agreements that:

The secretary of the state board of public welfare, subject to the approval of the attorney-general, is hereby authorized to enter into reciprocal agreements with other states regarding the interstate transportation of poor and indigent

persons and to arrange with the proper officials in this state for the acceptance and support of persons receiving public aid in other states in accordance with the terms of such reciprocal agreements.

A similar law was also enacted in Connecticut.

If other states will take similar action much progress can be made regarding the transfer of public dependents between states.

We believe that the continued efforts of the Committee should be directed toward effecting:

1. Centralization of authority in state departments of public welfare regarding the transfer of public dependents between states.
2. Enactment of laws authorizing state departments of public welfare to enter into reciprocal agreements with other states.
3. Elimination of settlement laws as a basis of transfer of public dependents between states, and the adoption of reciprocal agreements based upon a period of residence and absence.
4. Such changes in the relief laws as will insure humane consideration and care of dependents when transferred.

JOHN L. GILLIN

SPENCER DAWES, M.D.

GAY B. SHEPPERSON

S. D. McKENNY

(Signed) FRANK W. GOODHUE, *Chairman*

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#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

*Resolved*, That the American Public Welfare Association believes the following policies essential in an effective co-operative program of federal, state, and local relief:

According to the best available estimates, approximately four million families are being supported at public expense. These families are scattered through every state in the Union constituting a national problem of great magnitude costing perhaps a billion dollars a year, 95 per cent of which is being made available by local, state, and national government organizations. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance from both the economic and social point of view that governments generally should assume responsibility for the expenditure of public funds and should immediately provide more effective machinery for the proper and adequate administration of relief.

We deplore a tendency on the part of some governmental organizations to reduce administrative machinery in the welfare field in the name of

economy. In times like these an enormous increase in welfare problems cannot be avoided. Therefore, constructive economy requires well-organized administrative machinery to safeguard a wise expenditure of public funds.

Since present problems of destitution and want are not transitory, but will probably be with us for some years to come, not as separate problems but connected with other aspects of welfare, relief efforts in the various states should be handled in correlation with other welfare activities. It is extremely important that personnel standards be maintained on a high level.

The haphazard handling of the transients and homeless should cease. Since the studies made by the National Committee on Transients and Homeless indicate that the problem is national in its implication as well as local; and since the new federal relief bill makes provision for their care, we urge that federal recommendations be formulated and submitted to the states for the handling of this puzzling problem on the basis of regional planning and proper classification; and we also urge that a long-term consideration be given to the whole matter of legal settlement as between states, to the end that no citizen of the United States shall in the future find himself a man without a country.

The Association pledges its fullest co-operation to the Federal Relief Administrator in his efforts to develop effective governmental machinery in the various states and in their political subdivisions.

*Resolved*, By the American Public Welfare Association, that:

Inasmuch as the last two or three years have effected an enormous increase in commitments to hospitals for the insane and correctional institutions, special emphasis should be placed upon preventive measures such as an extension of mental-hygiene programs, including increased facilities in psychiatric hospitals and community clinics; state-wide probation and parole; and public recreational and character-building programs.

Inasmuch as the present economic depression has, in certain jurisdictions, resulted in the commitment of dependent children to state schools for dependents and state correctional schools, we deplore this practice and do reaffirm our belief that the dependent child is best served when he is cared for adequately in his own home or, lacking this, in a properly supervised foster or boarding home.

*Resolved*, That the Association wishes to express appreciation of the service that has been so freely and generously given by the national governmental organizations with which we are associated and to the University of Chicago, particularly the School of Social Service Administration.



We also wish to express appreciation of the work of the United States Children's Bureau, and call attention to the broadened scope of the Bureau's activities in times like these.

Moreover, we do wish to record our appreciation of the appointment of Mr. Harry Hopkins as Federal Relief Administrator and of Mr. Frank Persons as Director of the United States Employment Service in the Department of Labor of the United States. Such appointments give promise of unusual effectiveness in federal guidance in relief and employment administration in the several states.

ELLEN C. POTTER, M.D., *Chairman*

BLANCHE L. LA DU

W. C. HEADRICK

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#### REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Your Nominating Committee was required to submit for your consideration this year nominations for president and vice-president and five members of the Board of Directors. In addition thereto, there were two vacancies on the Board of Directors and nominations are also submitted for these places.

The report is:

*For president:* FRED K. HOEHLER, Ohio

*For vice-president:* MRS. BLANCHE L. LA DU, Minnesota

*To replace Mrs. LaDu on the Board of Directors, to serve for one year:*  
GAY SHEPPERSON, Georgia

*To replace Charles H. Johnson and to serve for one year:* LEWIS MERIAM, Washington, D.C.

*Five new members to serve for three years:*

WILLIAM J. ELLIS, New Jersey

BENJAMIN GLASSBERG, Wisconsin

DR. SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, Illinois

FREDERICK I. DANIELS, New York

MRS. I. A. LIVERIGHT, Pennsylvania

Respectfully,

FAY H. MARVIN, *Chairman*

ALICE STENHOLM

LEWIS MERIAM.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

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### FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF: THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

THE good news of the appointment of Mr. Harry Hopkins as the new Federal Emergency Relief Administrator was received just as the last number of the *Review* went to press. There was only time to express the very cordial satisfaction with which the news of his appointment was received.

Later came the further welcome news that another social worker (William Hodson of New York) had been appointed a member of the New York State Relief Commission, which was left with a vacancy in the reorganization following the departure of Mr. Hopkins. New York has set a good precedent in having a social worker on its important relief commission. Unfortunately, most states have not followed this example and have filled their commissions with representatives of business men, lawyers, politicians, and other groups, but have left out the social workers, who are the professional members of the community able to formulate plans and policies. Relief commissions without social workers are like health commissions without doctors in the midst of an epidemic. Certainly President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman have acted wisely in this matter.

The terms of the new federal act are by this time pretty well understood, but everyone is watching and waiting to see that national standards are really put into effect along with federal funds. Mr. Hopkins has issued various rules and regulations which were greatly needed, and Dr. Ellen Potter of New Jersey has been loaned by the New Jersey Department of Agencies and Institutions to inaugurate the new federal service for transients. Social work, and Mr. Hopkins, are to be again congratulated.

But will the vigor of some of the new "Rules and Regulations" be diminished as local pressure is applied? Already there are indications that the very important Rule No. 1, which said that "Grants of Federal emergency relief funds are to be administered by public agencies after August 1, 1933," is now being greatly weakened and modified in order to let the private agencies, sectarian and non-sectarian alike, that have been

spending public funds go on with a policy that is no different in spirit from the old and very objectionable one. The original rule said, "This ruling prohibits the turning over of Federal Emergency Relief funds to a private agency. The unemployed must apply to a public agency for relief and this relief must be furnished directly to the applicant by a public agent."

Under this rule a new order has been inaugurated in some places, but in others there is very little change. In Chicago, for example, where one large sectarian society has succeeded in being made a special agent of the state commission in spite of long-continued public protests, the new rule is apparently to be interpreted so that the sectarian work will continue with the name of the Public Welfare Bureau posted on sectarian buildings.

Chicago has been an outstanding example of a city with a well-organized, non-political public welfare department. The relief work has been done remarkably well. It is a great source of confusion to have part of the public funds diverted to the use of a sectarian society. The new order should have ended summarily this irregular proceeding. These are days of anxious waiting.

#### STATE LEGISLATION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

SINCE January 1, 1933, legislatures have met in all but two states, forty-three states having had regular sessions, two states having had special sessions only, and eleven states having held both regular and special sessions. One of the most pressing matters in every state was the problem of how to handle unemployment relief, both as to financing and administration. To some extent this legislation, and that eminent in other special sessions, represents an effort to meet the pressure brought to bear by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

New York will submit a \$60,000,000 bond issue for relief purposes to the voters at the November election,<sup>1</sup> as well as making it easier for municipalities and counties to raise money.<sup>2</sup> The membership of the T.E.R.A. has been increased from three to five.<sup>3</sup>

Several states have been hindered in issuing bonds for relief by constitutional difficulties. In California an amendment was approved by the voters in June, which authorizes a \$20,000,000 bond issue from the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 260, *New York Laws*, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 9 and 430, *New York Laws*, 1933.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. 44, *New York Laws*, 1933.

ceeds of which loans are to be made to counties and municipalities to be repaid out of the gas tax.<sup>4</sup>

In Maine three bills have been passed and approved to overcome the constitutional difficulty.<sup>5</sup> The first provides for an amendment to the constitution (to be voted on in September) permitting a bond issue, not to exceed \$2,000,000, for relief. The second increased the state debt limit to the above amount, and the third provides for the issuance of such bonds, contingent upon the approval of the constitutional amendment.

The Pennsylvania legislature, contingent upon the adoption of a constitutional amendment (to be voted on in November) authorizing the borrowing of \$25,000,000, has appropriated \$20,000,000 to the State Emergency Relief Board to provide direct and work relief with the proviso that the board may allocate sums up to \$300,000 to the State Veterans' Commission for needy veterans.<sup>6</sup> Two other bills appropriate \$18,000,000 and \$5,000,000 respectively with similar provisions for administration.<sup>7</sup> A separate appropriation of \$2,000,000 was made to finance relief during April and May.<sup>8</sup> Should the amendment be adopted this will make a total appropriation of \$45,000,000 for relief of distress in the state.

In Texas the proposed constitutional amendment to permit a \$20,000,000 bond issue for relief was approved by the voters on August 26, 1933.<sup>9</sup> A Rehabilitation and Relief Commission is created to administer federal and state funds for employment, rehabilitation, and relief.<sup>10</sup>

Other states, not handicapped by constitutional limitations, are financing relief by the issuance of bonds. Nevada has authorized bonds to the amount of \$100,000,<sup>11</sup> to be administered by the newly created State Board of Charities and Public Welfare.<sup>12</sup>

In New Hampshire a bond issue of \$600,000 for the year ending December 31, 1933, and of \$1,200,000 for the year ending December 31, 1934, has been authorized, to be administered with any other funds for relief by a director of poor relief to be appointed by the governor.<sup>13</sup>

Rhode Island has provided for a \$3,000,000 bond issue to be submitted to the voters for approval at a special election called by the governor.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Chap. 207, *California Laws*, 1933.

<sup>9</sup> Texas, S.J.R. 30.

<sup>5</sup> (Maine), H. 1734, 1735, and H. 1736.

<sup>10</sup> Texas, H. 897.

<sup>6</sup> Pennsylvania, S. 1351.

<sup>11</sup> Chap. 132, *Nevada Laws*, 1933.

<sup>7</sup> Pennsylvania, S. 987 and H. 1487.

<sup>12</sup> Chap. 131, *Nevada Laws*, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> Pennsylvania, H. 1590.

<sup>13</sup> New Hampshire, H. 417.

<sup>14</sup> Rhode Island, H. 569, Substitute B, as amended by H. 843, Substitute A.

In addition, the act made available immediately to the towns \$611,774.10 to be used for relief.

The state of Washington has provided for a bond issue of \$10,000,000 for relief to be financed by diversion of the gas tax,<sup>15</sup> and to be administered by a state emergency relief administration composed of a commission of five persons (appointed by the governor) and a director chosen by the commission.<sup>16</sup>

Minnesota has extended the powers of the State Executive Council to the relief of economic distress and authorized the borrowing of the necessary funds, not to exceed \$1,500,000 for the biennium.<sup>17</sup> Under the authority of another act, the Board of Control which has been given broad rule-making powers has established a bureau to administer relief.<sup>18</sup>

Several of the states have financed relief by a special tax or by appropriations from the general fund. Indiana has followed the latter method and has appropriated \$1,000,000 for the current fiscal year and a like sum for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1933, from the general fund for the purposes of relief.<sup>19</sup> The money is to be administered by the Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief, created by the act, and consisting of such number of members as the governor may determine. Under the authority given him in S. 130, the governor has established a department of public welfare to perform all welfare functions of the state government. The Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief, mentioned above, will be continued but there will be a direct tie between this commission and the department of welfare through the appointment of William H. Book as director of the department and of unemployment relief.

Oklahoma has also provided an appropriation for relief from the general funds. An appropriation of \$600,000 has been made to provide "for the relief and sustenance of widows and old disabled people who are unable to work" by furnishing them free garden seed, food, clothing, and fuel.<sup>20</sup>

Michigan has appropriated \$12,000,000 for relief.<sup>21</sup> A state emergency welfare commission is created by the act within the state welfare department to have general supervisory control over the distribution of all funds for relief, which has the power to prescribe forms and make rules and regulations.

<sup>15</sup> Chap. 65, *Washington Laws*, 1933.

<sup>16</sup> Chap. 8, *Washington Laws*, 1933.

<sup>17</sup> Chap. 355, *Minnesota Laws*, 1933.

<sup>18</sup> Chap. 89, *Minnesota Laws*, 1933.

<sup>19</sup> Chap. 136, *Indiana Laws*, 1933.

<sup>20</sup> Oklahoma, S.B. 28.

<sup>21</sup> Michigan, H.B. 685.

A tax of 1 cent per gallon on "liquid fuel" has been levied in Ohio<sup>22</sup> the proceeds to be paid into the State Emergency Relief Fund, set up by H.B. 264, administered by the State Relief Commission. In addition, diversion of the gas tax to relief purposes has been authorized to the extent of \$2,000,000.<sup>23</sup>

In Illinois action was taken to continue the Illinois State Relief Commission which otherwise would have lapsed on July 1, 1933. The sales tax, approved March 22,<sup>24</sup> was later declared unconstitutional because it exempted gasoline and farm products sold direct, and because the appropriation was set up for a dual purpose. A new sales tax bill carrying a 2 per cent rate was approved June 28.<sup>25</sup> From the proceeds of this, which are placed in the Emergency Relief Fund, \$25,000,000 was appropriated for relief.<sup>26</sup>

Several states, without making specific appropriations for relief, have provided machinery for the administration of funds received from federal and other sources for this purpose. Arizona has created a State Board of Public Welfare consisting of five members and provided for a secretary to the board, "who shall be a trained investigator of social service problems."<sup>27</sup>

An Official Colorado State Relief Committee was established by the legislature.<sup>28</sup> This act recognizes the committee, appointed August 1, 1932, as the official agency and continues its existence for the duration of the emergency, appropriating \$12,000 for the period ending June 30, 1933, and \$48,000 for the next biennium.

In Connecticut an act has been passed creating an emergency relief commission of not more than five, appointed by the governor, to have charge of the administration of all funds, including federal funds, available to cities and towns for relief.<sup>29</sup>

In Maryland the Board of State Aid and Charities is enlarged and given charge of the distribution of unemployment relief with power to appoint agents or designate existing agencies or organizations to act as its agents.<sup>30</sup>

The "Montana Relief Commission" of five members appointed by the governor for a two-year term was created by the legislature.<sup>31</sup> Three acts were passed extending the life of the New Jersey Emergency Relief Ad-

<sup>22</sup> Ohio, Amended Substitute, S.B. 354.

<sup>23</sup> Ohio, H.B. 377.

<sup>24</sup> Illinois, S.B. 156.

<sup>25</sup> Illinois, S.B. 665.

<sup>26</sup> Illinois, S.B. 738.

<sup>27</sup> Chap. 35, *Arizona Laws*, 1933.

<sup>28</sup> Colorado, H.B. 270.

<sup>29</sup> Connecticut, H. 1330.

<sup>30</sup> Chap. 222, *Maryland Laws*, 1933.

<sup>31</sup> Montana, H.B. 291.

ministration to January 31, 1934.<sup>32</sup> The Oregon State Relief Committee, consisting of seven members appointed by the governor, and county relief committees of five to seven persons in each county, was created by the 1933 legislature.<sup>33</sup> In Utah the governor has been authorized to administer relief to destitute residents of the state by any means deemed desirable by him, to adopt such rules and regulations as he shall deem necessary, and to co-operate with local governments and private agencies.<sup>34</sup>

Special sessions are now being held or have been called in Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, and Virginia, and probably will be called in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.

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#### OLD AGE PENSIONS GO FORWARD

**D**URING the last ten years old age security laws have made big strides. Although Arizona was the first state to pass such a law, it was declared unconstitutional, and the Alaska law of 1915 was the first actually to go into operation. In 1923, Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania<sup>1</sup> adopted similar laws, rapidly followed by a succession of other states. By 1933, seventeen states had laws that were either state-wide mandatory or county optional systems.

Since January 1, 1933, eight other states have adopted "old-age pension" laws—Arizona, Arkansas (declared unconstitutional), Indiana, Maine, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington.<sup>2</sup>

The Arizona law states that every person seventy years of age who is without an income is entitled to a pension of \$30 a month. It would seem to be of the county optional group since the county board of supervisors is to be the sole judge of granting pensions.

The Arkansas bill which provided for financing by a one per cent tax on all state and county warrants, was declared unconstitutional because of this unusual method.

<sup>32</sup> Chaps. 2, 3, 5, *New Jersey Laws*, 1933.

<sup>33</sup> Chap. 15, *Oregon Laws*, 1933.

<sup>34</sup> Chap. 88, *Utah Laws*, 1933.

<sup>1</sup> The Pennsylvania law was declared unconstitutional in 1924.

<sup>2</sup> (Arizona), Chap. 34, 1933; (Arkansas), Act 271, *Acts*, 1933; (Indiana), Chap. 36, 1933; (Maine), H.B. 1698; (Nebraska), S.B. 111; (North Dakota), H.B. 242; (Oregon), Chap. 284, *Laws*, 1933; (Washington), Chap. 29, *Laws*, 1933.



By the Indiana act payment of pensions is mandatory upon the counties but the state will contribute half the cost. The pension limit is \$15 a month and the minimum age is seventy.

Supervision and enforcement of the Maine act is lodged in the State Department of Health and Welfare. The state is to pay half the cost of the pensions which are limited to \$1 a day, plus medical care, to those of sixty-five years of age or more. The effective date is postponed until the governor and council can arrange for financing the system and report thereon to the next biennial session of the legislature.

A county old age pension commission in each county is provided by the Nebraska law. Under various restrictions pensions not to exceed \$20 per month are to be granted citizens of the United States who have lived in Nebraska for at least fifteen years and have reached the age of sixty-five years.

A pension is granted to those of sixty-eight years and over by the North Dakota law, with the pension limit \$150 a year. The law disqualifies from receiving a pension those who have been professional tramps, beggars, or vagrants, or who have habitually failed to work. Similar disqualifications are provided for in the Oregon bill which sets the pension limit at \$30 a month and the minimum age at seventy.

The Washington act is mandatory upon the counties which will administer and bear the cost of the pensions. It provides a maximum pension of \$30 a month for needy citizens sixty-five years of age and over.

In Idaho, New Hampshire, and New York unsuccessful attempts were made to repeal the old age pension laws. The pension system in Minnesota was made mandatory.

M. S.

#### ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR

**W**ORKING children, like many other neglected groups, are to have a New Deal. The Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution, first submitted to the states in 1924, was indorsed by the presidential candidates Calvin Coolidge, John W. Davis, and Robert W. LaFollette. But in the years 1924 and 1925 the amendment was ratified only by four states (Arkansas, Arizona, California, and Wisconsin) and rejected by twenty legislatures. During the prosperous years, 1925-30, the children were put to work or forgotten, and only two other states (Montana and Colorado) ratified the amendment during this period. Now,

however, all is changed. N.I.R.A. has put the children out of the mills, the new administration is supporting the amendment, and during the recent legislative sessions of the past winter and spring the legislatures of nine additional states, including such important industrial states as Illinois, Ohio, and New Jersey, have ratified. The present outlook is that two years hence the amendment will finally permit the re-enactment of the federal child labor law declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. In the meantime, it is to be hoped that the excellent beginning of the N.I.R.A. will be followed by the vigilant enforcement of the ban that has been placed on the work of children.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Recent Social Trends.* By THE PRESIDENT'S RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL TRENDS. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1933. 2 volumes; pp. 1,568. \$10.00.

Social history has in the past always been written after the event and generations which have lived through stirring epochs of transition have been but dimly conscious of what was happening or of where the swift flowing stream of change was bearing them. It is the supreme merit of this truly great national stock-taking that it may make us aware of the great changes which have been going on in our social life. This in itself should lessen the time lag between the rate of technological change and the social changes which are needed to adapt man to his new technical environment and about which the editor of these volumes, Professor William F. Ogburn, has so suggestively written.

Underneath the social changes of the last decade and a half have been a great volume of inventions and a large increase in per capita productivity. During the twenties, there were no less than 423,000 patented inventions, the most striking of which seemed to be in the field of communication. In addition, previous industrial techniques such as the moving conveyor were widely adopted. The result was an increase of 34 per cent in the physical volume of goods between 1922 and 1929 or a per capita growth rate of 2.4 per cent a year. This rate of growth was appreciably above the previous average, although, as Carl Snyder has shown, it merely made up for a previous decade in which per capita productivity had not really advanced, so that a straight-line growth curve increasing at the rate of about 3 per cent a year seems to describe the movement of physical productivity during the last century.

The rise in per capita productivity was, however, also affected by the great fall in the birth-rate from approximately 24 to 17 per thousand population. This has been beyond doubt due to the spread of the knowledge of birth control through various layers of the population. Since this reduction has proceeded much more rapidly than that in the death-rate and the growth of total population, it has resulted both in a declining surplus of births over deaths and in a diminishing total number of annual births. The present natural increase is due, as Dublin, Lotka, and Kuczynski have pointed out, to an abnormally large proportion of our population being in the child-producing age groups. This has been caused both by immigration and the high birth-rates of the past. But in twenty or thirty years this disproportion will be removed. If we were to follow through a standard population with even the present birth- and death-rates, we would find that they were not quite reproducing themselves. Somewhere between 1950 and 1990, therefore, the population of the country can be expected to reach a

maximum at somewhere around 170 millions. This slower rate of growth will mean that real-estate values will probably not increase in the future as they have in the past and that America may come to appreciate qualitative values more than the quantitative tests which it has up until now held dear. The shift in the age composition will produce more old people, making old age at once less lonely and creating the problem of providing economic security for those who cannot live by current labor.

The increased productivity has created a great shift in occupations and has released millions for the production of services rather than material commodities. In 1870 approximately three-fourths of the gainfully employed were in agriculture and manufacturing, whereas in 1930 only one-half were so employed. On the other hand, whereas trade and transportation, clerical, public, and professional service comprised only about 15 per cent of the gainfully employed in 1870, by 1930 they had come to form approximately 37 per cent. The gain in the real income of the American people has therefore been greater than that indicated by indexes of physical production alone and a new class of white-collared workers has been created which is now at least equal in numbers to the manual workers and which has gone far to invalidate the Marxian predictions of the ultimate dominance of those who work by their hands. It is this class, parenthetically, which is the primary strength of Fascism in Italy and Germany and a potential source of support for such a movement in this country.

The growth in material prosperity also permitted a great quantitative increase in education so that by 1930 there were approximately 23 million scholars in our elementary schools, nearly 5 million in our secondary schools, and over a million in our so-called institutions of higher education. There are indeed no less than a million teachers, and education has become a major industry.

In a very interesting chapter Hornell Hart shows how the social attitudes of the people have shifted away from traditional Christianity and toward greater tolerance for divorce and for what would formerly have been condemned as "irregular" sex connections. There has probably been an appreciable reaction during the last four years against this last change, but the pendulum has by no means swung back to its former position. Professor Ogburn in his stimulating chapter on the family shows how the economic, religious, protective, educational, and recreational functions of the family have declined, but with great good sense shows that the need for the family as a center for affection in a hard-boiled world is as great or greater than ever before. Miss Breckinridge records the progress of women from mere family adjuncts to greater individualism and toward an increasing status of their own, while Jesse Steiner shows the way in which increased material resources and urban life have broken down the puritan inhibitions against pleasure and have led to an extraordinary growth in recreational activities.

As I go over the volumes as a whole, although I am an economist, I am compelled to admit that the economists who contributed to the volumes make a

much poorer showing than the sociologists. Thus Wolman's chapter on "Labor Groups in the Social Structure" and that by Gay and Wolman on "Trends in Economic Organization" do not break fresh ground and do little but summarize the various monographic studies which were made by others during this decade. The chapters by Ogburn, Thompson, Hart, Woofter, Sydenstricker, and Steiner are in contrast far superior and should do much to remove the inferiority complex which sociologists have sometimes felt in the presence of their elder brethren. The study is also far more sophisticated and critical than its predecessor, *Recent Economic Changes*, which was published in 1929 at the height of the bull-market era and which was imbued with much of the false tinsel of that gilded age. Political science too can hold its head high as a result of the chapters by Woody and Merriam. The former, as a result of a painstaking study, shows how total government expenditures in 1929 aggregated ten billion dollars instead of the figures of from fourteen to fifteen billions which have been used by many of the business men's economy groups.

As a whole, the study vindicates the use of the statistical method, and Professor Sorokin's recent strictures on this point seem ill-advised. I am inclined to believe, however, that the chapter on art suffers from an undue use of the quantitative method. After all it is more important to know what is in our museums than how many there are or the volume of attendance. As one who has spent a considerable amount of time in many public and private collections in this country, I feel that we have nothing to be ashamed of from a qualitative standpoint. The Gardner Museum in Boston, the Jarves Collection at Yale, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and the Johnson collection in Philadelphia all provide magnificent and well-varied examples of Renaissance painting as do the private collections of Messrs. Widener, Bache, and Morgan. Dutch and Flemish painting also is present in abundance, even though we have many spurious Rembrandts, while the collections of French paintings of the nineteenth century in New York and Chicago rival and perhaps surpass those of Paris. Nor need we blush for American painting. Ryder and Eakins were surely close to being great painters, and Homer, Duvaneck, Twachtman, Metcalfe, and Weir were first-rate. Among more modern painters, Seyfert, Speicher, Bush, Bellows, Kroll, and Grant Wood are extremely good. It is indeed probable that American painting has, since 1850, been on a very much higher level than British. But of all this and of somewhat similar developments in the field of literature, the chapter on art gives no real impression.

At least two major conclusions emerge from these studies. (1) That social problems largely arise because of changes in the social and economic structure at unequal rates of speed. The transition to a highly industrialized and urban economy with great disparities of wealth and income has created a minimum necessity for increased security through social insurance. This the committee had both the perspicacity and the courage to point out despite the hostile attitude of ex-president Hoover, the sponsor of these studies, toward this policy.

(2) That of the four great social institutions, namely, the family, the church, government, and business, the first two have greatly diminished and the latter two greatly increased in importance. The relation between government and business promises indeed to be one of the chief issues in the next half-century. In the past business has largely controlled government. And since economic power largely determines political power, the prospects for a great change in the future are not bright. Whether a nation composed primarily of employees can control their employers is somewhat doubtful, and it is upon this rock that Rooseveltian liberalism may founder. But by making larger groups aware of the social movements of our times and of their manifold implications, this monumental survey should aid greatly in a more rational adjustment of society. To what degree science and good will can reconcile sharp clashes of class interest and lessen the divisive consequences of economic, racial, and class antagonisms is another question.

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*Public Policy and Private Charity* (Social Service Monographs No. 16).

By ARLIEN JOHNSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.  
Pp. xiv+230. \$3.00.

Increasing interest in the administration of public social welfare activities has been aroused by the tremendously increased expenditures of these depression years. This interest makes Dr. Johnson's study especially timely as the field of public policy in regard to subsidies to private institutions and agencies has been explored very little. During these trying times, considerable pressure is brought on governments, local, state, and federal, to extend this system.

Although such subsidies have been generally disapproved, it is extremely valuable to have comprehensive data upon which to base this disapproval. Much of the book is devoted to an analysis of public regulation of private charities in Illinois from the historical point of view, and especially to subsidies in Chicago and Cook County. In addition the author gives a summary of the statutes in the various states regulating subsidies to private charities. Both the general discussion and the detailed experience of Illinois leave the reader convinced that certain difficulties are always inherent in the subsidy system and also that it is much simpler to avoid the entanglement of subsidies than to become free of them.

The subsidy system has been widespread, as we find that in 1929 the legislatures in twenty-four states made appropriations totaling more than seven million dollars to private charitable organizations. In seventeen of these states, at least part of the appropriation was in lump sum to a designated institution. In addition, all but five states in the United States authorize the local authorities to make payments to private associations for some kinds of services—but the amounts thus appropriated cannot even be guessed.

Dr. Johnson shows that a well-organized system of public charities will eliminate the practice of subsidizing private institutions. The principle that public control should be coupled with public expenditure has long been recognized as sound. "It is significant in this connection that the state that probably has the most adequate program of public care in the United States, Massachusetts, has never favored subsidies and has finally abolished them altogether."

Since there is some disagreement about what constitutes a subsidy, it may be well to quote Dr. Johnson:

The definition of a "subsidy," then, might be restated as any payment from the public treasury, whether state, county, or municipal, either in lump sum or on a per capita basis for services rendered, under an appropriation to a designated institution or class of institutions. Where the central authority in its discretion arranges with a private institution for the care of the sick, for example, the payments it makes do not constitute a subsidy because the institution has no claim upon the state but only upon the central authority to whom the state has delegated power to select the hospitals with which it will contract. Under this plan the dangers of favoritism, resistance to changes in policy, and unnecessary multiplication of one type of agency are lessened because (1) the central authority has continuous supervision over the institutions of its own selection; (2) it has power to make flexible arrangements not possible under statutory definition of aid; and (3), finally, the central authority represents a skilled and specialized service not yet fully realized in the United States but possible of development.

As a state, Illinois has not given legislative grants to private charities, although a few exceptions were made previous to the adoption of the 1870 Constitution. "The prohibitions in the constitution against special privileges to private organizations have been reinforced by a consistent policy opposing public aid to private institutions and agencies on the part of the three central authorities, which have successively dealt with charities." However, legislation has authorized subsidies from the county or city to hospitals and to industrial and training schools. The origin of the industrial-school legislation well illustrates the haphazard way in which a state embarks upon a subsidy policy. The story also illustrates well the part that any interested group plays in maintaining the status quo once such legislation has been enacted. Although the figures for such institutions in Cook County show considerable variation in the percentage of public funds obtained, they do show a definite reliance on the source of income, receiving from one-fourth to two-thirds of their income from the county, which is the same situation as existed during their early days.

The subsidy plan appears to be the basis for a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, with very young children sent to institutions, many children committed by court action where otherwise the agency would have cared for the child without such action, and a tendency to keep children for a long period of time.

In her conclusions concerning the subsidy system, the author raises the question whether their use interfered with the development of the public program for care of dependents. In Cook County, the facts show fairly adequate provision for Catholic children, but a dearth of resources for the care of other children.



More serious has been the resistance, on the part of all of the subsidized institutions, to any change in policy on the part of the county.

As a constructive answer to what is to be done, Miss Johnson refers to recent statutes in Ohio, Kentucky, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin. These statutes illustrate noteworthy trends away from the traditional subsidy, as follows:

1. Appropriations for certain classes of dependents are entrusted to the central authority with power to arrange for care.
2. The selection of the method or methods by which that care is to be provided is left to administrative discretion.
3. Increasingly the central authority in respect to the private agency is given power to make rules and regulations, prescribe reports, approve accounts and have them audited before payment.
4. The local organization for public welfare services is slowly advancing, especially where the central authority assists.

"These trends toward making the central and local authorities the state's agents for the distribution of services on a professional and expert basis will be expected eventually to relieve the state of the evils of the subsidy system."

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*Social Work Year Book, 1933. A Description of Organized Activities in Social Work and in Related Fields.* Edited by FRED S. HALL. 2d issue. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1933. Pp. 680. \$4.00.

The intention expressed in the *Social Work Year Book, 1929*, was to issue these volumes biennially. In spite of the lapse of time indicated in the titles, only two years and four months have separated the publication of the first two issues, the prefaces of which are dated September, 1930, and January, 1933, respectively.

The audience which contributors to the present issue were asked to have foremost in mind (consisting of those groups which found it of greatest value according to the reception accorded to the first issue) is composed "chiefly of persons on the fringe of social work proper or just entering it. In addition," continues the editor, "the volume is planned to aid experienced social workers in obtaining information in fields outside of their own, but is not intended for such workers in their own fields."

As in the first issue, the present volume has two parts, the first consisting of topical articles, and the second, which is much shorter, consisting of directories of agencies.

A change is to be noted in Part I, "Topical Articles," of the new volume, although both volumes deal with social work and related activities, and although the topics treated and the contributors are much the same. In the first volume uniform subheadings were generally used for articles as follows: "History and

Present Status"; "Training Requirements and Opportunities"; "Developments and Events, 1929"; and "Legislation, 1929." In the new volume no attempt has been made to record particularly the occurrences of the years since 1929. According to the editor the book "gives instead a picture of the present situation, by the change of policy becoming less of a 'year book' and more like a concise encyclopedia, periodically revised. Though most articles indicate briefly the effect of the current economic depression, emphasis has been placed primarily upon the more permanent organization of social work and the programs related to it." The reason for the change is that the "general descriptions became the major parts of most articles included in the first issue" and "were also the features—in contrast to the distinctively year book features relating to legislation enacted and other developments and events of the period—which reviewers of the volume and other commentators regarded as of greatest value." Having provided a concise encyclopedia in the first, and more especially in the second, issue, it would seem to the present reviewer to be most economical and most useful to omit in later issues as much as possible of the material contained in the earlier volumes and to give special attention to the summarizing of recent developments.

Most of the articles, though practically all of them have been revised, have the same titles in the present as in the earlier volume. In place of the article on "Community Organization," however, is one called "Social Planning and Program Promotion" (by Arthur Dunham). Among the new articles are several on the general subject of social work in relation to other fields: "Education and Social Work," by Lois Meredith; "Law and Social Work," by Geoffrey May; "Libraries and Social Work," by Julia Wright Merrill; "Medicine and Social Work," by George C. Ruhland; and "Sociology and Social Work," by Robert M. MacIver. The information regarding state conferences of social work in the article on "Conferences of Social Work" is valuable, but one wishes it had been possible to include the names and addresses of one of the officers of each conference as was done in the article in the earlier volume. Little information has been included regarding public works or regarding general social or economic planning. Among the new articles is one called "Public Social Work," by Stuart A. Queen, and one called "Family Life Research," by Dwight Sanderson. A number of articles on recreational subjects have been gathered together in this volume under the general heading "Recreation." Relatively few changes have occurred in the list of contributors. Among the new names, in addition to those already mentioned, are: Edith Abbott, who writes on "Education for Social Work," George W. Kirchwey on "Adult Offenders," Marietta Stevenson on "Public Welfare, State Agencies," Forrester B. Washington on "Negroes," and Walter West on "Social Work as a Profession."

The most important change in Part II, "Directories of Agencies," is the addition of a section entitled "State Agencies—Public," in which an attempt has been made to list state agencies in the fields of agriculture, education, labor,

public health, and public welfare "with the names of such of their divisions and bureaus as are related to social work," and other state agencies, for example, legislative reference services. Temporary unemployment relief agencies are included and also children's code commissions. It is to be hoped that this directory may be included in the later issues of the *Year Book*, also that a fuller list of state public welfare agencies may be included, and information concerning the publications of these state agencies, as is given in the case of the national public and private agencies.

The present volume has been improved by several changes in form. Among these are: changes in the arrangement of the classified list of articles in Part I; the separation of public from private national agencies in Part II; and the addition of a valuable index for the subject matter of the book. It would be a real convenience if in future issues the titles of the articles by the several contributors were added to the list of contributors, since at present it is impossible to locate an article by a given contributor in the absence of the name of the article.

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*The Police Woman's Handbook.* By ELEONORE L. HUTZEL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. Pp. 303. \$2.00.

This manual is welcome to social workers as well as police women because it is evidence that the occupation of the police woman is regarded as sufficiently stable and fixed to justify the publication of such a program of preparation and practice. Miss Hutzel is an authority in the field in which she writes. She is herself a professionally qualified social worker, and has been for a number of years a member of the police force in the city of Detroit. In her work there she has set and maintained standards which have served as a basis of judgment in other communities.

The discussion is extremely well planned, and includes chapters on the nature of the work, that is, patrol, inspection and undercover operations, and investigation. It likewise includes a suggestive statement with reference to criminal-law procedure and the preparation of cases to prepare the officer to co-operate with those who wish honestly to administer the law and to secure convictions only when there is evidence beyond a reasonable doubt.

On the side of social service, too, there are many valuable suggestions in connection with the possible guidance of women and children on the streets, the detention of women and girls, and co-operation with other agencies which should prove especially useful. The definitions are brief and pointed, accurate, and should be of very great service. The illustrative cases will prove extremely useful in communities where the use of police women is developed in which officers already professionally equipped cannot be obtained, and will likewise con-

tribute to the material to be used in courses in professional schools of social work in the treatment of delinquency.

Miss Hutzel and her assistant, Miss McGregor of Grand Rapids, are to be warmly thanked, and those like Mr. William P. Rutledge, the commissioner of the Detroit Police Department, and the officers of the Bureau of Social Hygiene who made the work possible have likewise placed all persons interested in law enforcement and in the development of safe and decent conditions in our cities under obligation to them.

S. P. B.

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*Criminology*. By FRED E. HAYNES. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1930. Pp. 417. \$3.50.

*Criminology*. By ROBERT H. GAULT. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1932. Pp. 461. \$3.48.

Almost a hundred years ago Francis Lieber attempted to answer the question, Does civilization promote crime? The pendulum swung in the opposite direction under the influence of Lombroso's writings, but today the criminologists are again seeking the answer to Lieber's question. Professor Haynes, a teacher of sociology at the University of Iowa, and Professor Gault, teacher of psychology at Northwestern University and editor in chief of the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, both emphasize the "new" concept that crime is a social product.

The modern student of criminology heretofore has been limited almost altogether to textbooks written by sociologists, but now through the publication of Gault's criminology from the "psychologic approach," the student not only has a wider range of choice but is able to compare the approaches to the study of crime from two related fields of social science. While there is a similarity in treatment of certain topics in criminology by Haynes and Gault, as one would inevitably expect, and a certain amount of overlapping, yet the reader of these two texts is far more impressed with the differences than with the similarities of these volumes. Perhaps the most obvious difference is that Haynes emphasizes the administrative aspects, and describes in considerable detail various systems of treatment of prisoners from the governmental standpoint both here and abroad, while Gault is primarily interested in the diagnostic aspects of criminology, namely, the study of the criminal as an organism with certain emotions, drives, intellectual traits, psychopathic tendencies, and attitudes. In fact, the psychological viewpoint is so much in evidence in Gault's book that the reader constantly has to remind himself that he is reading a criminology instead of a textbook on psychiatry. Haynes covers a wider range of topics, but, excellent as the chapters are, they are without orderly sequence, and there is some repetition of factual data. Both Haynes and Gault present in a most interesting way the historical background of criminology, notably in regard to Lombroso's

work. Both authors likewise give due credit to Dr. William Healy in his pioneer work in research into the causes of juvenile delinquency in Chicago and Boston. In describing the work of Thomas Mott Osborne and the Mutual Welfare League at Auburn and Sing Sing prisons, Haynes thinks that Osborne may finally rank with Beccaria, Bentham, and Howard in the annals of prison reform.

The fact that Haynes attempted no original research but accepted the usual sources of data on criminology has led him into some errors in describing the origin of certain prison practices and reforms. For example, Haynes attributes the rise of the lease system of prison labor in this country to prison practices in Georgia about the close of the Civil War, although Sutherland and others have shown that the operation of the lease system dates back at least to 1839 in Illinois and Missouri. Another misconception prevails in regard to the origin of probation. The beginning of this reform is usually traced to practices in the courts of Boston about the middle of the last century. Matthew Davenport Hill, however, has shown that this practice prevailed in Warwickshire, England, as early as the eighteen-twenties.

In addition to the emphasis he gives to the study of the criminal personality from the psychological viewpoint, Gault makes an important contribution to criminology in his description and analysis of the methods of obtaining evidence, such as through the use of the camera, the microscope, chemistry, ballistics, etc., and through the use of psycho-physiological methods including word association tests and scopolamin.

Haynes and Gault have so thoroughly covered the field of criminology at the present time that no new textbook need appear until further research and experimentation would justify such a course.

W. B. SANDERS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

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*Probation and Criminal Justice. Essays in Honor of Herbert C. Parsons.*

Edited by SHELDON GLUECK. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. 344. \$3.00.

Any statement from Professor Sheldon Glueck and the Boston group will be received with appreciation by probation officers, social workers, and students of the problem of criminal justice.

This volume, which has been prepared under Dr. Glueck's editorship, contains extremely interesting and constructive contributions to the subject of probation. Students everywhere will appreciate the tribute to Mr. Herbert C. Parsons, who, as secretary of the Massachusetts Probation Commission, made clear to the public that the subject was of state-wide concern.

The contributors to the volume are those whose names carry authority. Dr. Glueck not only contributes himself but has secured a contribution from his distinguished brother, Dr. Bernard Glueck; other contributors include three

authoritative participants in the movement abroad—Sir William Clarke Hall, whose recent death was noted in this *Review*;<sup>1</sup> Judge Henri Rollet, whose work in Paris became known to Americans participating in the International Conference of Social Work; Monsieur Paul Cornil, who writes of the interesting work in Belgium; and Professor Hans V. Hentig, of Kiel University, Germany. Not least interesting among the chapters is that by Sanford Bates, on whom the United States has called to furnish leadership in the development of a federal service.

No attempt will be made here to select out the especially important papers. They will appeal to persons with different interests who approach the subject from different points of view. Certain legal questions suggested by Judge Warner are enlightening, especially in view of the obvious necessity of constantly keeping in mind the psychology of law-enforcing agencies, especially the state's attorneys. Contributions by Mr. Cooley and Mr. Fagan are always welcome, and the reader turns to pages of Mr. Hans Weiss with a deep sense of sympathy in his return to Germany after the death of Judge Cabot, and with a realization of his great good fortune in having been associated with that wise, kind, and distinguished friend of children.

If there are a few errors they are too slight to notice. The substitution (pp. 78 and 94) of "Grace Adams" for "Grace Abbott" suggests Grace Abbott's fundamental relationship to Hull-House which can never be overlooked.

If the reader is constantly reminded that probation is still an item rather in criminal procedure than in social treatment, the subject becomes more completely a challenge. This is likewise true of the omission of any discussion of the difficulties growing out of the fact that administration of criminal justice is considered under our governmental organization as a subject for state jurisdiction so far as legislation is concerned and for local administration in the actual handling of litigants' problems and of persons accused of violation of the law. That in order to secure fundamental reforms a national program is essential, in which the federal, the state, and the local jurisdictions co-operate, their responsibility and their services being intelligently integrated, seems clear to any student of the sources of crime and the continued deficiencies of criminal law administration.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Human Aspects of Unemployment and Relief.* By JAMES MICKEL WILLIAMS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. xvi+235. \$2.50.

In this book the author attempts to answer the question: How have "the depression and the methods of relief affected the unemployed and those dependent on them?" He endeavors to put the emphasis "on the effects of unemploy-

<sup>1</sup> March, 1933, p. 141.

ment on the children of the unemployed." He also has a more practical aim, for he says: "The purpose of this book is to show the need of a more comprehensive provision for the unemployed than has yet been made."

The volume originated in 1931 in an investigation by the author on the effect of unemployment and welfare practices in five cities of New York state. The inquiry was carried on as time permitted into the summer of 1932. The author argues that "a description of conditions in New York is fairly certain to be no exaggeration of the state of affairs throughout the country." In addition to the data regarding New York, a good deal of the author's material is drawn from studies of conditions in other parts of the country.

As to methods of inquiry, the volume is a compilation of material from the following sources: various published studies made principally by others than the author; testimony given by social workers at the hearings on the Costigan-La Follette bill before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Manufactures; the author's interviews with social workers (none of whom appear to be quoted specifically); and "confidential reports of welfare agencies and councils of large cities, these reports prepared by experts and based on answers to questionnaires by hundreds of nurses, social workers and others." The content of the questionnaires is not indicated. The material utilized from these sources consists of factual material concerning general social conditions and descriptions of administrative organization and procedures, as well as recommendations for improvement. Oftentimes the sources of statements are not given; in many such instances the source is presumably the author's observation or opinion. Case material, much of it used effectively, is mainly from Elderton's *Case Studies in Unemployment*, or, in the many cases where no source is given, from the author's "own experience"; what opportunity the author had to learn the facts recited is not indicated.

While the book succeeds in many respects in dealing with a large and complicated subject in a way that is comprehensive, accurate, and interesting, the subject matter suffers in no small degree from a lack of careful internal organization.

This criticism applies particularly to Part I, entitled "Social Effects of Unemployment and Welfare Practices," which is mainly written from the standpoint of the unemployed. The material is presented under such chapter headings as the following: "Homes Destroyed"; "Health Impaired"; "Nerves Shaken"; "Morale Tottering"; "Sex Attitudes and Practices"; and "Delinquency." The material incorporated into many of the chapters is insufficiently integrated into the chapter as a whole, and there is inadequate summarization and evaluation of the data. From this standpoint the author's questions regarding the effects of unemployment and of the handling of relief are not effectively answered.

Part II, "Public and Private Welfare in Action" is mainly written from the standpoint of the organization and administration of agencies dealing with the unemployed. The chapters containing the author's observations concerning the problems and methods of emergency relief in New York are of special interest.



Some of these observations will be briefly summarized in the following paragraphs.

Many county, city, and town welfare officials are political appointees, and are without the necessary qualifications for the work. The author's pen portraits of effective and ineffective local welfare officials are well worth reading, e.g., "John Wellington," "Oldie Shriver," and "Hiram," as is his tribute to the work of Frederick I. Daniels, then commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare of Syracuse, and now Mr. Hopkins' successor in the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration of New York. The people of the state are not conscious that a new public welfare system has been set up in New York. The author suggests the value of a larger representation of the non-propertied classes on local appropriation boards and the abandonment of the town as a welfare unit in favor of the county and city in order that problems of personnel and finance may be more adequately handled. He suggests that the professional education and training of the local welfare workers should be certified, "say, by the State Department of Education," and favors elimination of any residence requirement in their selection. He asks if the county welfare commissioner ought not to be chosen under the merit system from a list of eligibles submitted by state authorities? He recommends the establishment of a local board of control, or less preferably, a local advisory board, to represent the citizens in their relation to the welfare agency, and to interpret its work to the community.

The social workers on the staff of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, representing expert social work practice,

are intent on relief of need and so do not share the emotional states either of the propertied classes or of the unemployed. Their attitude is objective. They have set a standard budget that does not satisfy many of the unemployed, who want what they want, nor does it satisfy the propertied classes who want expenditures cut to the bone. There is, then, a conflict between the liberals in welfare work and the local boards, made up largely of representatives of propertied classes, which have heretofore wielded the control in public welfare.

The State Department of Social Welfare and the Temporary Relief Administration are so inadequately staffed as to be unable effectively to supervise the local officials. The principle of state grants in aid for local relief should become a permanent part of the governmental system; adequate funds for state administration should be provided, and the present high quality of the personnel maintained.

Workers in private agencies, according to the author, cannot speak out with entire freedom concerning economic causes of family troubles. But the private agency is needed for handling unusual cases, for experimentation, and for protecting standards in public agencies from political interference.

In his final chapter entitled "What Should Be Done," Dr. Williams argues for a federal system of labor exchanges, for a nation-wide program of public works, and for state unemployment insurance systems. He criticizes adversely the ad-

ministration of unemployment relief by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under the then existing law, and the small appropriation. He favors the establishment of state relief agencies like the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, and states that the federal government, by conditional grants of federal aid, could promote the development of these efficient agencies in other states.

He argues for long-time social and economic planning by nation, states, and cities. But, in his opinion, only when "every adult has a right to a childhood in which the foundations of physical and mental health and social-mindedness have been surely laid" can they "solve the problems of the new state."

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY  
ST. LOUIS

W. W. BURKE

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*Children, Young People and Unemployment. A Series of Enquiries into the Effects of Unemployment on Children and Young People.* Geneva: The Save the Children International Union, 1933. Pp. 112. \$0.35.

*Die Kinder der Arbeitslosen.* By RUTH WEILAND. Berlin: Verlagsgesellschaft R. Müller, 1933. Pp. vii+60. 2.60 M.

The first book is a compilation of reports on the effects of unemployment upon young children in various countries. The most extensive section, the German, made by Dr. Ruth Weiland, is published separately under the second title given above. The German study was conducted in co-operation with the German Central Organization of Private Child Welfare Agencies (Deutsche Zentrale für freie Jugendwohlfahrt), branch agencies of which turned in reports of their experiences. The effects of unemployment on the health of children is discussed. The hardships endured by children in families where the father is partially employed or on very low wages are shown to be as great as those of children where the father has been out of work for a fairly short time.

The author mentions the difficulty of measuring the effects of unemployment or low income statistically and uses instead excerpts from reports of many types of children's agencies or of case records. These mention the increase of rickets, susceptibility to disease, and slowness of recuperation. They show the reduction of child welfare resources, the effects of crowded living conditions, and lack of clothing and food upon the children.

An interesting section indicates mental and emotional effects upon children of the unemployed, especially as shown by their play. In their games the father cooks because he has nothing else to do, he always comes home complaining, he goes to have his unemployment card stamped, or games must be devised in which he can participate. Money shortage, the rent, begging, and stealing are part of their games. Kindergarten children are too mature for their age. Chil-

dren learn to beg, and child-labor standards are broken as children seek jobs to supplement the family income.

Effects on character are suggested, the relations of parents and children and of children to each other. The attitude toward their occupational future is significant. A third of the school girls in 1932 give domestic service as their desired occupation, although the rate of unemployment is the highest in this sort of work. A job means maintenance. The relation between quitting school and family needs or return to school where one parent secures a job is suggested. The vocational counselors report difficulty in persuading young people to plan to enter a skilled trade. It means too great a sacrifice to their families.

Brief supplementary German material is presented by Gertrud Bäumer on "The Effects of the Economic Crisis on Social Work for Children and Young People" and by Stadtsrat Frielanders on "Relief Measures for the Young Unemployed."

The material on unemployment in the United States is based upon U.S. Children's Bureau material. Brief mention is made of conditions in Belgium and Switzerland.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

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*Compte Rendu du Congrès International de l'Enfance, Paris, 1931.* Édité sous la direction du COMITÉ d'ORGANISATION DU CONGRÈS. Paris, 1933. Pp. 518.

The report of the proceedings of the International Child Welfare Congress held in Paris from July 27 to August 1, 1931, was published in March, 1933, by the organization committee of the congress. Held on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the reorganization of the educational system of France on a secular basis, the congress was arranged by the Association of Teachers of Public Nursery Schools and Kindergartens in France and the Colonies. The association was aided by several important child welfare societies and teachers' societies of national scope. The purpose of the congress was to bring together all persons interested in children between the ages of two and seven years. There were 3,400 delegates from twenty-five countries, among them the United States.

The work, divided into five sections, was concerned with educational establishments for children between two and seven years of age in France and other countries, methods of co-operation between school and family, programs of studies, and measures for the protection of the children's health. A number of reports were presented; exhibits from France and thirteen other countries were arranged, and lectures, all reprinted in the volume of proceedings, were given by various educational authorities.

A special numbered edition has been printed on high-grade paper and abundantly illustrated.

U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU

ANNA KALET SMITH

*Unemployment in Germany since the War.* By KENNETH INGRAM WIGGS. London: P. S. King, 1933. Pp. ix+216. 12s. 6d.

*Unemployment Insurance and Relief in Germany.* National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., Publications. New York: National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 1932. Pp. xvi+107. \$2.00.

*Unemployment Insurance in Belgium: A National Development of the Ghent and Liège Systems.* By CONSTANCE A. KIEHEL. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1932. Pp. xiv+509. \$3.50.

The first author discusses briefly the well-known German statistics giving the trade-union percentages of unemployment and part-time employment among their membership, the recipients of unemployment benefits, the numbers of persons available for work at the employment exchanges, employment among members of the health insurance system, and the index of labor exchange activity. In spite of the careful statistical work of the German Institute for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance each of these measures fails accurately to indicate the total volume of unemployment. The limitations of the data except those of application to the exchanges are given by Mr. Wiggs, but with no contribution to the problem of gathering or interpreting statistics of unemployment.

His discussion of capital scarcity and of wages assumes that maintenance of wages and social insurance aggravate and prolong unemployment and that reduction of wages, with no limit suggested, would increase employment, presumably, by facilitating competition for foreign markets. His chapter on rationalization, designed to show that wages rather than technological change have been responsible for unemployment, tends to discount the rationalization movement. In comparing the distribution of unemployment in England and Germany this book overlooks the German administrative plan that set the districts under the Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Act in some measure to equalize the rate of unemployment between districts.

The National Industrial Conference Board study presents in convenient form detailed material from official German sources available in any good American library but interpreted on the basis of "two months' extensive study" of the situation in Germany. The brevity of the author's visit abroad may account for inaccuracies and inconsistencies.

The criticisms of unemployment insurance do not sufficiently take into account historical or economic factors. The incapacity of the German, or indeed of any, insurance system to carry a disaster load without enormous reserves has inevitably meant heavier premium rates and continuous retrenchment of standard benefits. Naturally, the burden of unemployment relief has overwhelmed the German cities, states, industries, and national government.

This author, too, blames much of the difficulty encountered by unemployment insurance upon benefits and wage rates, which in his opinion are too high.

As a matter of fact, insured persons in the lower wage class have required supplementary poor relief ever since passage of the Unemployment Insurance Act. The author's solution is a tax upon wages and salaries, regardless of size, to finance public unemployment relief, evidently during depression, to supplement assistance from private agencies.

Belgian unemployment insurance is presented in the fourth volume issued by the Industrial Relations Counselors as a variant from the English and Swiss types. Small but highly industrialized, Belgium, out of relatively long pre-war experience with local public aid to trade-union and other voluntary unemployment insurance schemes and out of the pressing need for unemployment relief immediately following the war, created in 1920 what is virtually a nationalization of the Ghent and Liège subsidy systems.

For a decade after the establishment of this system its growth was favored because of comparatively slight unemployment. It developed certain unique characteristics, especially the flexibility resulting from a system based upon separate insuring societies, the policy of each society's covering but a single trade risk, almost complete limitation of contributions to the employee, the assumption by the state of a large proportion of the costs through public subsidies and communal administration. The importance of cyclical risks was early recognized. They were cared for as relief, not insurance, through a National Emergency Fund. In fact, the entire system was, and is, predominantly relief.

The author shows that national subsidy method as an insurance scheme has definite limitations. It reaches only about a third of the industrial population, though 80 per cent of all union members are in the societies. There is practically no provision for non-unionists. Only since 1930, under pressure of the depression, have the communes been required to participate. Provincial and communal rates vary and inequalities in treatment result. The pressure of many administrative units makes for high costs, only partly disclosed by the financial statements. It is questionable, therefore, whether the flexibility of the subsidy method is not secured at too high a price.

M. R. C.

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#### BRIEF NOTICES

*The London County Council from Within: Forty Years' Official Recollections.* By SIR HARRY HAWARD. London: Chapman & Hall, 1932. Pp. xii+437. 21s.

This record of the work of the London County Council will be very interesting to many social workers. When the author of this book first entered the public service, half a century ago, the London County Council was not yet organized and the government of London was in the hands of the old Metropolitan Board of Works. There is a useful introductory chapter on the transition from the old system of local government for the greatest metropolitan area in the world to the reform system under the London County Council which was inaugurated in 1889 after a Royal Commission had been appointed

"to inquire into and report upon the working of the Metropolitan Board of Works and into irregularities which are alleged to have taken place in connection therewith."

The book necessarily devoted much space to general administration and various financial matters, but there are many chapters of interest to the social welfare group. One chapter, for example, deals with "London Statistics." The first volume of this well-known County Council series was issued in 1890. This publication has grown increasingly valuable since that time, and Sir Harry Haward does not exaggerate when he calls it "a perfect mine of information" for municipal administrators and students of public administration and "a stimulating guide through the inevitable complexities of the local government of the greatest city in the world, throwing light upon its social life and tendencies, and providing the necessary data upon which all schemes of improvement must be based."

The chapters on "Housing" and "Education" will also be especially useful to social workers.

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*Where Shall He Live?* By MARY HIGGS, M.A. London: P. S. King & Son, 1931.  
Pp. xii+100. 3s. 6d.

Mrs. Higgs is well known for her vigorous writing on the subject of social abuses. Her earlier books, especially *Glimpses into the Abyss* (1906), and the post-war studies of vagrancy have dealt with the subject of shelters, lodging-houses, and "casual wards."

Sir Michael Sadler, of University College, Oxford, both writes an Introduction to the little book and furnishes its theme: "the fever of unrest may be allayed by a generous encouragement of a many-sided education, an education allied to science, courage, and compassion, and imbued with a sense of the mystery of life."

The narrative begins with a discussion of "the break-up of home life" in the industrial epoch. The adolescent's need of vocational guidance in the choice of occupation, and how present conditions militate against it, is thoughtfully reviewed. The special difficulties arising out of "the new social phenomenon—the unemployment of youth—" and particularly the social consequences of the present neglect of the adolescent, which is a now exigent problem, are also discussed. Americans who at this time are feeling so sorely the neglect of our young migrants will be especially interested in the account of the boy who leaves home, his difficulties as regards lodgings, the ladder downward to the furnished room, the lodging-house, the common lodging-house, and, finally, the last refuge of the destitute lad in England, the so-called "casual ward." The problem of sex in relation to destitution and temptations to theft are also dealt with. A final chapter, "Towards Utopia," gives a summary of needed changes: in community care for the home, in national education, in national care of the adolescent, and in provision of the labor market in place of workless men and boys.

Mrs. Higgs writes in her usual vigorous and appealing way of the young adolescent of the present day and his neglected needs.

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*Hungry England.* By A. FENNER BROCKWAY. London: Victor Gollancz, 1932.  
Pp. 224. 2s. 6d.

This is a very readable book giving a rather intimate account of the most distressed areas in England. Going about from town to town where friends took him to

see representative unemployed families, the author gives a vivid account of their heart-breaking struggle to maintain their self-respect as they go steadily downhill physically and mentally. Many of the families he saw had had their unemployment benefit reduced by the Means Test and he has not a little to say about this method of national economy.

American relief workers will be struck when they read this with the difference between our dole and the English system of benefit. Our people are, in many places, better fed than the English. For the English get cash allowances and their first expenditures are for rent, light, water, fuel, trade-union dues, insurance, and co-operative club dues. It is obvious that there are many things that seem more important to people than food, when they have a choice. Can we say they are wrong?

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*Labor Problems and Labor Legislation.* By JOHN B. ANDREWS. Fourth edition, completely revised. New York: American Association for Labor Legislation, 1932. Pp. 135. \$0.60.

In the simplest of terms and with profuse illustrations the author gives the arguments for legislation covering employment and unemployment, wages, hours, safety, industrial health, collective bargaining, and social insurance, and the need for proper machinery for enforcement. The format of the book, small size, thin paper, and large type add to its usability for the purpose for which it is obviously designed, i.e., the education of the general public. Nevertheless, an amazing amount of factual material has been included.

M. R. C.

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*German Cities. A Study of Contemporary Municipal Politics and Administration.* By ROGER HEWES WELLS. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932. Pp. xii+283. \$3.00.

Understanding of German social welfare and economic conditions is so closely allied with knowledge of that nation's political institutions and governmental agencies that the information contained in this excellent volume fills a decided need. After brief discussion of the changes wrought in the German cities by the war and post-war conditions, the book discusses German local government, the structure of city government, municipal suffrage and elections, partisanship and parties in the cities, the relationships of the states and the cities and of the *Reich* and the cities, metropolitan areas and problems, and municipal administration. The book is packed with essential factual material, well organized. It contains an excellent, selected Bibliography. It should prove highly useful for reference upon many phases of German life, affecting or affected by the cities.

M. R. C.

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*The Community in the Making.* By ELLSWORTH COLLINGS. Oklahoma City: Economy Company, 1932. Pp. 137. \$1.85.

Missouri is evidently a fruitful field for educators interested in utilizing school machinery for the general toning up of rural life. Some years ago Evelyn Dewey in her *New Schools for Old* gave us an interesting account of such a venture near Chillicothe.



Now Professor Collings, Dean of Education in the University of Oklahoma, relates the story of a six-year experience of similar character in McDonald County, Missouri.

Dean Collings defines community organization as "teamwork of leaders in guidance of people's pursuit of chosen purposes." This definition, very frequently reiterated throughout the volume, has the ring of originality. Nevertheless, when it translates itself into concrete terms, we find ourselves back again on the familiar ground of community sings, circulating stereopticon machines, and Independence Day picnics.

This book will be of greater interest perhaps in fields other than social work. Social workers are chiefly concerned with aspects of community organization that are remote from the central interest of this volume—which, in the final analysis, is adult education. The story of McDonald County will have to look mainly to public school officials for its readers. Those who do read it will find in its pages a record of personal leadership modestly presented and worthy of respect.

A. W. McM.

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*Medical Relations under Workmen's Compensation.* By the Bureau of Medical Economics, American Medical Association. Chicago: American Medical Association, 1933. Pp. 157. \$0.75.

This study shows the close relationship of just and adequate compensation to sound medical practice in respect both to medical services and to determination of the extent and character of the injury upon which cash benefits are based. It indicates the earlier indifference of the medical profession to workmen's compensation.) It shows the dangers to the injured workmen and to the medical profession where treatment becomes commercialized. It considers compensation to be the originator and promoter of contract practice in medicine. It denounces contract practice for engendering inferior service and perverting physicians from professional care of patients to financial attention to employers and insurance carriers. It urges upon the medical profession consciousness of its responsibilities and opportunities and awareness of the necessity for adding economic and social knowledge to the medical.

M. R. C.

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*The Contribution of Religion to Social Work* (Forbes Lectures of the New York School of Social Work). By REINHOLD NIEBUHR. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. x+103. \$2.00.

This is a thought-provoking book. Its author briefly develops his subject from the historical point of view and describes the present situation in this setting. He traces the development of social thinking from the older philanthropy to the newer challenge of social justice, bringing out the strengths and weaknesses of the influence of religion throughout these changes. The book is full of exquisite appreciation of what religion can offer, but it is sensitive, rather than assured—especially in the matter of religion itself. There is a note of pessimism that comes frankly to the surface in the following: "It is a question whether a mechanical civilization like our own, which destroys the cultures of the past, will be able to form a new religious culture, relevant to the problems of our own life. If it cannot, we had better hold to traditional disciplines as long as we may, lest confusion become worse confounded."

The high light of the book is the author's devotion to the cause of social justice, and it is in this field that he finds the least evidence of help from organized religion. He misses here the opportunity to go back to the thoroughly proletarian message of the Magnificat, and warn us to get it out of our liturgy into our thinking. One wishes that Dr. Niebuhr might catch the fire of the religious conviction which he characterizes so well, and help integrate religion and social justice into the social gospel so much needed in the present day.

L. B. P.

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*The Education of Young Children in England.* By JEWELL LOCHHEAD, PH.D.  
(Contributions to Education, No. 521. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College). New York: Columbia University, 1932. Pp. 212. \$2.25.

This book is a study of the education of English children between the ages of two and seven years. The author made a survey of numerous English schools admitting young children, in order to ascertain the scope and function of the schools, and to analyze their organization, curricula, methods of teaching, and educational theory. The educational practices in the English schools are compared with those in the United States.

The book includes first a brief survey of the general educational system of England, and then presents in detail a discussion of three types of schools—the infants' schools, kindergartens, and the nursery schools. The relation of these three types of schools to the educational system is shown, and the organization and purpose of each type of school is discussed. In addition the author describes the English system of training teachers for work in these schools.

The book includes a Bibliography pertaining to the English system of education. It should be of value to those interested in the education of young children.

SUSAN P. SOUTHER, M.D.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

### HOUSING IN EXTENSO

*Housing Objectives and Programs* (Volume XI in the series of reports of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership).

Edited by JOHN M. GRIES and JAMES FORD. Washington, D.C., 1932.

Pp. xxv+345. Price, \$1.15.

The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership was conceived on a large scale. An original planning committee of thirty-four, called together by the president at the White House in August, 1931, created twenty-five subcommittees and six correlating committees. More than five hundred different persons served as members of these thirty-one committees. Mr. Robert P. Lamont, then Secretary of Commerce, and Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, served as joint chairmen of the planning committee and appointed the chairmen of the subcommittees. The original planning committee represented interests almost as diverse as its numbers allowed. Its membership was derived from master builders, organized labor, architects, engineers, bankers, insurance companies, building and loan associations, city-planners, housing corporations, women's clubs and magazines, chambers of commerce, civic betterment associations, real estate boards, federal government bureaus, and home economists. The subcommittees continued and spread this diversity, adding social workers, sociologists, a few economists, and a few trained research secretaries.

The reports of the twenty-five subcommittees have been published in ten volumes. This eleventh volume, entitled *Housing Objectives and Programs*, is a summing-up. The six correlating committees have been given the privilege of sifting the findings and recommendations contained in the first ten volumes for the purpose of criticism, synthesis, and further recommendation.

As a preface to the six summary reports, however, we are given three addresses delivered at the general sessions of the Conference in Washington in December, 1931, and the resolutions formally adopted by the Conference. It is of significance that President Hoover, in his address, emphasizes the fact that the Conference was called "to consider one great segment of that problem—that is, in what manner can we facilitate the ownership of homes and how can we protect the owners of homes?" He is so moved to sentiment upon the subject of individual ownership that he finds in "those immortal ballads, *Home Sweet Home*, *My Old Kentucky Home*, and *The Little Gray Home in the West* . . . expressions of racial longing which find outlet in the living poetry and songs of our people." "But," he adds, "they never sing songs about a pile of rent receipts." Again and again he reiterates the philosophy of rugged individual-

ism. He points out that the Conference was not called primarily upon legislative questions, nor was it primarily concerned with city housing and slum clearance, but that its major purpose was to stimulate individual action; it was not to set up government in the building of homes but to stimulate individual endeavor and make community conditions propitious.

Secretary Wilbur's address at the closing session is mainly a summary of the proposals presented by the various committees. It is perhaps fortunate for us that most of the committees did not receive, in time to follow it, the advice which Secretary Wilbur gives in these words: 'We can learn from the birds. The shiftless, careless robins who pick poor places for their nests and build poor nests, raise but few young who become full fledged, successful robins.' The conclusions presented in the first ten volumes are happily based upon data more pertinent to human needs than details of the construction of birds' nests.

In refreshing and encouraging contrast to these two addresses is the Foreword signed, in this volume as in previous volumes, by the former Secretary of Commerce, Robert P. Lamont. Concisely, Mr. Lamont states again the new philosophy which has distinguished his utterances in other volumes of the report. Thus he says:

What has not been sufficiently understood is that good housing is the resultant of many forces interacting on one another in very complicated ways. The statement of standards and objectives in this volume leaves no doubt as to that point and once for all proves the impossibility of producing acceptable housing by isolated individual effort. In fact, it establishes housing as a major test of modern man's capacity to work co-operatively towards the distant goal of the common good instead of the immediate goal of the apparent individual good.

Moreover, he calls attention again to the need for action, in addition to research, when he says:

The section on technological developments in this volume indicates that practice in house construction lags well behind knowledge, and that means are even now at hand to improve the quality and reduce the cost of building if builders will but make use of them. Public inertia and the retarding hand of tradition, however, continue to delay their adoption.

The major part of the volume is occupied by the reports of the six correlating committees. The report of the Correlating Committee on Technological Developments is concerned not only with the relative advantages of various materials and methods in the construction of houses but with the problem of providing the best construction at the lowest cost. Primary emphasis is placed upon the problem of building a small home in a small city or town where there has been heretofore but slight benefit from the development of large-scale production in the building industry. The avowed purpose of the committee is "to show how the cost of small houses of the future, without land, may be reduced to, say, \$2,000, thus rendering new housing available to unskilled labor." The solution offered is chiefly that of shop fabrication by large organizations which will develop appropriate designs under the direction of a competent technical

staff, ship the fabricated aggregates to the building site, assemble the house, and guarantee it for a term of years. The arguments and information presented in this section are of a technological nature that cannot be examined by a layman. It is apparent, however, that the conclusions upon a wide variety of technical matters are in harmony with the findings of the United States Bureau of Standards. There is no discussion of the probable economic effects upon prices, profits, wages, and employment in the building industry; and the economists might well begin, where the technological experts have left off, to discuss this suggestion which may amount to a small economic revolution.

The Correlating Committee on Legislation and Administration drafts no model laws but recommends for every municipality a planning commission, building regulations, housing and sanitary regulations, improved tax-assessment procedure, adequate control over conveyancing practices, mortgage loans and deeds, and equitable landlord and tenant laws. The committee then proceeds to amass data showing that its recommendations are not revolutionary but are actually operating in many cities and towns. The general reader will perhaps be surprised to discover that thirty-five states have laws authorizing city-planning, that in twelve of these the standard enabling act published by the United States Department of Commerce is in effect, and that 841 municipalities in the United States had established official planning commissions up to the end of August, 1932. Zoning ordinances, likewise sponsored by the United States Department of Commerce, are even more widespread. Particularly enlightening is the committee's comment on the uneconomical regulations of most building codes, in which the details seem to have been dictated to benefit the industry rather than to safeguard the interests of the consumer or user. In general, the committee gives no encouragement to "the national pastime of law making," where other than legal control can be devised. Its suggestions upon types of legislation, methods of presentation, technique in bill-drafting, promoting passage of the law, and procuring enforcement, while blazing no trails for experienced legal and administrative reformers, should nevertheless be of value to lay committees whose business it is to nurse proposed legislation through the states of infarcy.

The Correlating Committee on Standards and Objectives of Housing, charged with one of the most important tasks of the conference, proves disappointing. It is hard to believe that this committee thoroughly digested the reports of the subcommittees to which it had access. It might at least have given us cross-references, but in forty-six pages of summary there are only three footnotes referring to other volumes. One of these is a note of dissent. The entire report is clothed in vague generalities which it was the business of this conference, above all things, to make particular, definite, and concrete. With regard to heating, for example, we are told that the objective for the house is: "That it will be properly heated—neither too hot nor too cold, neither too dry nor too moist. That room temperatures will be so related to air movement and moisture content as to promote comfort and health." But there is no reference to tell us whether in any volume we can find the definition of "too dry" or "too moist" or how to attain the happy medium in any one of the multitudinous varieties of

American dwelling. Again we find this statement of a standard: "That the therapeutic ultra-violet rays of the sun, which are so beneficial to health, will freely enter all rooms." Yet in this same volume sixty pages earlier, we had stumbled upon a conflicting statement by the Committee on Technological Developments that reads: "Glass transmitting a large proportion of ultra-violet light to be used only in a solarium." One suspects that, if this committee's report had been submitted to all the technical experts among the five hundred subcommittee members, other dissenting opinions on technical matters might have been added to those of Dr. Compton, Mr. Ihlder, and Mr. Miller with regard to fireproofing, which are published at the end of the report.

The most important suggestion of the Correlating Committees on Education and Service and on Organization Programs, Local and National, is the creation of a National Institute to be maintained by private funds, to stimulate, guide, and correlate the research on housing and city-planning carried on by federal bureaus and private agencies. Throughout these two reports, which are concerned with the existing agencies for the education of the young and the adult through the schools and through luncheon clubs, women's clubs, and the like, the reader is not quite sure that the committees knew just what the other volumes of the conference had contributed to human knowledge, and consequently just what material could be used as a luncheon program for a Rotary Club.

The sixth and last correlating committee is that on housing research. It is to be regretted that this committee could not have been the planning committee and could not have outlined a program of research *before* the year's work of the conference rather than after all the committees had reported. As it is, the committee politely states that there is still a first need for a carefully annotated inventory of all past researches in the field of housing. It then goes on to outline some suggested housing research projects "guided largely, but not wholly, by the recommendations of the particular committees concerned. These were naturally preoccupied with their own subjects, and were not in a position to compare their suggestions with others nor to anticipate the inevitable overlapping that has occurred." The projects proposed, too numerous and detailed to be mentioned here, are well outlined, with definitions of the problem and possible methods of attack. While in no sense a complete or final statement of a detailed plan for research, this section of the report is very suggestive. Such a research program, if carried out, would occupy the proposed Housing Foundation, which this committee also recommends, for a considerable length of time. It is to be hoped, if such a foundation or institute is actually created, that its first task will be a "carefully annotated inventory of all past researches" and that no more time and effort will be spent upon new studies of facts which are well known but whose effectiveness in the community waits upon the whims of politically controlled local and state governmental agencies.

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## WOMEN AND THE LABOR CODE

*Women's Work under Labour Law, A Survey of Protective Legislation* (International Labour Office, Studies and Reports, Ser. I, No. 2). Geneva, 1932. Pp. 264. \$2.50 cloth; \$1.50 paper. Obtainable in this country from the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

We are probably not conscious of the large measure in which the International Labour Office has made available such accurate and up-to-date information as the example offered by this volume. It has been possible only since the organization of the Office, because the governments which now constitute it have been gradually trained to answer questionnaires as part of the ordinary routine of their membership. The very anonymity of the study impresses one again with the existence of that staff of international experts, trained to watch developments over the entire surface of the economic world, with as practical a result, at least, as that with which

The poet's eye, with a fine frenzy rolling  
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven.

In studying the advance in protective legislation one is struck at once with its unevenness. The Scandinavian women seem to hold first place in the vanguard of freedom, we Americans and the English following closely. It is of course difficult to know how effectively laws upon statute books are in actual force, but it is astounding to learn that a French married woman must obtain the consent of her husband before she may sign a contract to work; that a Belgian married woman worker must expend her earnings only for household purposes. Lest we feel an undeserved pride in comparing our advance with this, it is well to look at those ahead of us, to the list of countries which insist on rest, with pay, before and after childbirth, with the recognition that this is even more financially necessary in the case of children born out of wedlock; to those countries which grant free hospital treatment to working mothers at childbirth; to those which prohibit overtime in the case of women workers who have also the care of a household; to those which prohibit night work. The reader will be interested in the efforts of Cuba and Soviet Russia to open up certain occupations as the exclusive domain of women, and to fix the percentage of women workers in others, a step in retrogression, one is bound to feel.

The rapid changes of today strike the reader forcibly, as he turns the pages of this book: it is sad that all the advanced stand for women in the German Weimar Constitution has been nullified since this report was written, and has been supplanted by an almost medieval psychology; on the brighter side, the recent revival of the agitation for minimum-wage legislation, encouraged by the success of the state of New York, and by the courageous telegram of President Roosevelt to the governors of our industrial states, has all taken place in the last few months.



The book is one for students and specialists, and serves more especially as a reference volume; but for one who reads it consecutively it gives a comprehensive picture of the growth of the sense of the responsibility of governments for the working conditions surrounding their women citizens. It is perhaps surprising to find the final note of the volume on the need of vocational guidance and training, as one of the two most vital problems, the other being wages. To us of the mechanized, power-driven West such co-ordinate importance is doubtful, in the face of a future where in all probability the need for skill will decline before the advance of a production technique of pressure on electric switches. Such a future, however little variation it may offer in occupational interest, but emphasizes the untried stretches of leisure and the opportunity for choice in unpaid and voluntary pursuits, and the need for equipping the workers of tomorrow with the skill "to pluck the hour and the day virtuously and well."

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TOLEDO CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

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### INDUSTRY AND DISEASE

*Occupational Disease Compensation.* A report by the Pennsylvania Commission on Compensation for Occupational Disease to Gifford Pinchot, Governor, Harrisburg, 1933. Pp. 102.

The Pennsylvania Commission, called by Governor Pinchot to advise concerning compensation for occupational diseases, has submitted medical, financial, and legal reports. Although the Pennsylvania Workmen's Compensation Act includes occupational diseases, the Commission advocates a separate act from that covering accidents with a separate framework of rules and procedure for administration. The medical group recommends an act that specifically designates diseases by name and by occupations where they occur. The legal subcommittee concurs in spite of the usual advantages of general terms in legislation of such a nature. The medical group has drawn up a suggested schedule and has particularly emphasized silicosis, asthma, and other diseases common among miners.

The subcommittee on scope and cost offers several possible methods of arriving at a figure but does not accept any estimate thus made as final. It mentions the danger of extension of medical abuses existent in compensation practice in some states. It stresses the importance of administration of the law in any estimate of costs. The entire Commission advocates the establishment of a paid medical board to dispose of questions informally, recognizing, however, that it cannot be so free from court review as are the English medical boards. Following the English precedent, the Commission suggests a joint fund for compensation for the mining industry in which hazards are especially great, contributed to by all the employers in that industry.

M. R. C.

## RATIONALIZATION

*The Social Aspects of Rationalization.* (International Labour Office, Studies and Reports, Ser. B, No. 18.) Geneva: International Labour Office, 1931. Pp. vii+381. \$2.00. Obtainable in this country from the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Massachusetts.

As unemployment has directed attention to technological change in industry, "rationalization," the European term for what we are accustomed to call "scientific management" in industry, assumes new significance. The striking progress of rationalization in post-war Europe and particularly in Germany between 1925 and 1928 has resulted in many studies of the subject, of which this one by the International Labour Office is noteworthy.

The study covering experience in many countries discusses the relation of rationalization to output, hours of work, wages, industrial hygiene, prevention of accidents, certain forms of group work, and industrial relations. The chapter on the effects of rationalization upon employment concludes, in agreement with some economists, that "in the long run, . . . if it is to deserve the name, it must tend to ensure that the employment of the available labor must be as regular and complete as possible." The qualification, "if it is to deserve the name" of rationalization, however, seems a large one.

Essentially a compilation of experiences in many countries, this study is different from, but perhaps complementary to, the German analysis of rationalization made by the *Reichskuratorium für Wirtschaftlichkeit*. Perhaps one of the contributions of the study by the International Labour Office is that it calls to our attention the almost world-wide character of rationalization.

M. R. C.

## MUNICIPAL COURT PROBLEMS

*Men's Misdemeanants Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia.*

Prepared by GEORGE E. WORTHINGTON. ("Philadelphia Municipal Court Survey Series.") Philadelphia: Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, 1932. Pp. xxiii+181.

This volume is the fourteenth instalment of a report by the Bureau of Municipal Research on the Municipal Court of Philadelphia of an investigation financed by the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation. This inquiry was instituted at the suggestion in 1924 of the president judge of the court, who hoped that by such an inquiry the work of the court could be improved and strengthened. Unfortunately, however, owing to the removal of that judge to another bench and of greatly diminished co-operation on the part of his successor, the completion of the report has been delayed.

Attention is called in this report to the general neglect of the inferior criminal courts and to the lack of standards for measuring their work. However, as the court had especially to do with the juvenile adult, boys between sixteen and

twenty-one, the standards generally applied to the juvenile court in its work with its older wards were thought applicable. Reference was had, too, to the standards developed by Mr. E. J. Cooley in his New York study, and the work of the court was likewise compared with its own earlier statements of purpose and aim.

The history of the court, which was established in 1917, is given and its jurisdiction described. These subjects have special interest because the court anticipated an extension of the general juvenile-court method to a group of older boys. It is pointed out, however, that this is possible only when adequate resources for sound treatment are available. Such purposes as the court sought, for example, could be achieved only through an adequately equipped probation department. Yet the investigator says of the probation department of the court:

It is not the writer's intention to paint a gloomy picture of probation, of which he is an ardent advocate. The tragedy lies in relegating probation work to persons so utterly incompetent that they not only are unable to produce successful results, but lead one to believe that the probationer, especially if he is a boy, is made worse rather than improved by the process. The men's misdemeanants division presents the appearance of a huge machine through which probationers are run, each receiving the same treatment: a follow-up to see if the probationer is working. The work is mechanical and the activities of the probation officers are not essentially different from those of police and detectives [p. 133].

The recommendations may well be applicable to inferior courts in other jurisdictions and are therefore quoted at length:

The writer's principal recommendations for improving the work of the division are as follows:

1. That an effort be made to define clearly the types of cases over which the misdemeanants division has exclusive jurisdiction, in order that all such cases may be brought to the division. Many of them at the time of this study were being disposed of by city magistrates.
2. That the word "incorrigible," describing boys coming under the court's exclusive jurisdiction, be dropped. A more accurate and less opprobrious term can easily be found. "Wayward" is suggested.
3. That an effort be made to apply the court's social procedure to the large group of boys under 21 who are brought to the division in connection with women's cases in the women's division. There is especially a need of preliminary investigation on these cases.
4. That the division live up more fully to its published statements that "warrants are not issued until after the boy has been interviewed by a probation officer"; that a summons be substituted for a warrant wherever possible, so that the number of boys detained pending hearing will be decreased; and that when warrants must be served they be served by the sheriff's office and the police instead of by probation officers.
5. That the preliminary investigation be more thorough, and result in a recommendation by the investigating officer.
6. That the division co-operate more fully with other divisions of the court, and make better use of such services as are rendered by the central registration bureau and medical department.

7. That the division register its cases with the Social Service Exchange and establish better working relations with other welfare agencies in the city.

8. That detention facilities be provided which will make it unnecessary to hold boys awaiting hearing in Moyamensing Prison or other schools of crime; and that more comfortable detention quarters be provided at the place of hearing.

9. That in the work of probationary supervision an effort be made to measure up to accepted standards of probation work and to the court's own professions as to its methods and purposes. Family rehabilitation, vocational guidance, and wholesome recreation for boys should be included in the division's objectives. The work should be less mechanical and should be less open to the criticism that it is a low grade of detective work in which the probationers are being checked up. Cases placed on probation should not be neglected and forgotten.

10. That definite hours be set for probationers to report to the officers in charge of their cases, and that the present system under which probationers report to anyone who happens to be in the office be abandoned.

11. That a method be worked out whereby cases requiring special attention of the psychiatric department be in charge of a psychiatric social worker.

12. That the division work out a well-considered policy of closing cases.

13. That the court constantly agitate for more adequate institutional facilities for the care of feeble-minded boys.

14. That the arrest and minute books kept by the clerk of the court be replaced by a journal and ledger docket. In the ledger docket a page should be set aside for a summary of the entire history of the case. The journal should contain daily notes of the court's action, kept in chronological order.

15. That greater care be taken in writing probation records, and that copies of the court stenographer's transcript of hearings be filed as a matter of routine with the probation record.

16. That, to establish more adequate administrative control probation officers be required to make periodic reports of their work.

17. That greater care be used in the preparation of statistics concerning the division's work, and in the preparation of its annual reports.

18. That the board of judges adopt some method of selecting probation officers on a merit basis, perhaps with the co-operation of a committee of private citizens qualified to set standards and assist in giving examinations; that an eligible list of probation officers be thus established; and that all future appointments be made from this list.

19. That pending the adoption of such a system a new probation officer-in-charge be appointed for the men's misdemeanants division, possessing qualities of leadership, personality, training, and experience for a position of that importance; and that he have the assistance of a qualified case supervisor.

20. That promotion in the probation staff be based on merit, and that salary schedules be revised so as to provide adequate compensation for the services rendered and to give recognition to differences in the value of the services of the several staff members.

21. That legislation be promoted looking to the licensing of bondsmen, and that some method be devised for checking up in their activities and divorcing them from "fixers" and "runners."

22. That the co-operation of the Bar Association be invited by the president judge in getting rid of shyster practitioners in the misdemeanants division and preventing them from exploiting unfortunate persons dealt with by the division.

## CARE OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN

*Report of the Michigan Crippled Children Commission, 1927-1932.* Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Crippled Children Commission, December, 1932. Pp. 36.

*Facilities for Crippled Children in the City and State of New York. A Directory.* Compiled by NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN, INC. New York City, December, 1932. Pp. 64.

Although the pamphlets recently issued by the Michigan Crippled Children Commission, and by the New York State Association for Crippled Children deal specifically with state activities and facilities, they are of very real value to a much wider public. For years consistent effort has been made in both Michigan and New York to co-ordinate the services of the many public and private agencies organized in the interests of crippled children, and the records of their accomplishment toward this end may well serve other states struggling with the problem of confusion and waste entailed by the overlapping of activities which seem to characterize this particular field of social work everywhere.

The Michigan report covers the work of the Crippled Children Commission from its organization in July, 1927, to June, 1932, outlining the development of the state's policy and the successive steps in the co-ordination of state and local agencies. Statistical analysis of Kardex records of the 16,729 cases under the oversight of the Commission during the five-year period exemplifies the value of a central system of enumeration and record. The conclusions drawn from records thus kept under a consistent and unified scheme are of much greater significance than those reached through a state-wide survey. It has been possible for the Commission to evaluate the various phases of its work and to discover the gaps in the state program. Of especial interest are the sections on Hospitalization, Out-Patient and Follow-Up Service. The economic aspects of the care of crippled children have been thoughtfully studied for a number of years, and recapitulation in the present report is helpful.

A section of the report of significance to every community is that which records the uniting of the resources of state and local medical and social organizations as a Commission on Infantile Paralysis, in an effort to cope with the outbreak of poliomyelitis which reached epidemic proportions in the period from July to December, 1931, with 1,067 cases. There is a note of encouragement in the fact that in June, 1932, the number of children turned over to the care of the Crippled Children Commission with the record of residual paralysis was not more than 299. The Commission on Infantile Paralysis published its report in September, 1932, but maintained its working organization throughout that year in an effort to make further study of treatment possible.

The New York State Association for Crippled Children has designed its splendid "Directory" of facilities available for crippled children in the city and state of New York as a ready reference for the workers for crippled children within the state. As such it will prove an invaluable handbook. So thorough and exhaustive is its exposition of the legal aspects, the policies, and the methods underlying the various phases of care, however, that it is a valuable addition to the literature on the care of crippled children.

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